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PREFACE

UNDER THE AUSPICES of the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of California, Snr. Curt Nimuendajú, of Belém do Pará, has been for several years investigating various little-known groups of the interior of Brazil, some of which he had previously visited. A number of brief reports have been published to keep ethnologists informed as to some discoveries of major import, and a longer treatise entitled The Apinayé, that is, Western Timbira, has been printed (see Bibliography) under the joint editorship of Dr. John M. Cooper and the translator. Another monograph, on the Šerénte, was published more recently in the series financed by the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund. The monograph herewith presented describes primarily the Rąmkō'kamekra, but the author has given such ample data on the history and ethnography of all related tribes known that the title Eastern Timbira seems fully warranted. In the translator's judgment this work represents one of the outstanding achievements among studies of South American Indians.

ROBERT H. LOWIE

December 2, 1941

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THE EASTERN TIMBIRA

600

BY

CURT NIMUENDAJÚ

Translated and Edited by

ROBERT H. LOWIE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES
1946

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I. GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

HABITAT

101 THE TIMBIRA habitat extends from 3° to 9° S. latitude and from 42° to 49° W.
131 longitude—through the northeastern part of the Central Brazilian steppe area, where that area adjoins the southeastern tip of the Amazon rain forests. The tropical forest extends back of the coastal steppe strip liable to inundation, beginning at a point on the Tocantins somewhat above the Araguaya confluence, and includes the entire Gurupy basin, the middle and lower Pindaré, the lower Grajahú, and the lower Mearim. Its domain comprises the present habitat of the following Timbira tribes: the Western Gaviões; the Krẽyé of Cajuapára; the Krẽyé and Kukóekamekra of Bacabal.*

134 But by far the greatest part of Timbira territory is covered by high steppes and
137 dry forest; tall timber occurs only in the form of *galeria* forests along the brooks
and rivers, also at times on the slopes of the so-called mountains (*serras*), at the foot
133 of which these watercourses usually develop from many minor springs. These inextensive wooded tracts are of great economic significance for the steppe Indian, since they offer the only soil suitable for his primitive husbandry.

The *galeria* forest further provides not only the material for housebuilding, but also the extremely important burity palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*), the leaves of which furnish the main material for basketry while its fruits are edible and its trunks are made into logs carried in relay races. Further, there are the oleaginous babassu palm (*Orbignia speciosa*); the sororóca (*Heliconia* sp.) with its gigantic leaves, indispensable in Indian cookery; and many other useful plants.

The predominant part of the Timbira steppes consists of *campos cerrados*, that is, grass tracts with more or less dense stands of trees and bushes. Absolutely pure steppes I have seen only in the upper Pindaré country, and even these were only of minor extent. The two Timbira tribes of that region—Krĩkatį and Pųkóbye—
[101] are accordingly called by the other members of their branch Popéykateye (inhabitants of true [or beautiful], pey, steppes, põ).

The prevailing grass species is Capim agreste (*Pannascum* sp.). Noteworthy among the trees are the sucupira (*Cassiea* sp.), which symbolizes for the Timbira the power of resistance; the sambahyba (*Couratella* sp.), whose rough leaves serve to polish wood; the pau de leite (*Sapium* sp.), whose latex when mixed with powdered charcoal forms the favorite pigment; the tucum palm (*Astrocaryum* sp.), important for its fibers; the almecegueira (*Protium* sp.) with an odorous rosin much used in decorative outfits; finally, the fruit-bearing piquy (*Caryocar* sp.), bacury (*Platonia* sp.), and the mangabeira (*Hancornia* sp.).

[134] The soil is mostly sandy, more rarely clayey, and still more rarely rocky. The
133 northern Timbira country is rather flat, rising only quite imperceptibly southward.
Even the most recent maps (Stieler, 1928) crowd the southern half with mountain
[114] chains—to the grave disappointment of an observer on the spot, who finds simply mesas and small plateaus with steep slopes, sporadic residual phenomena, mostly

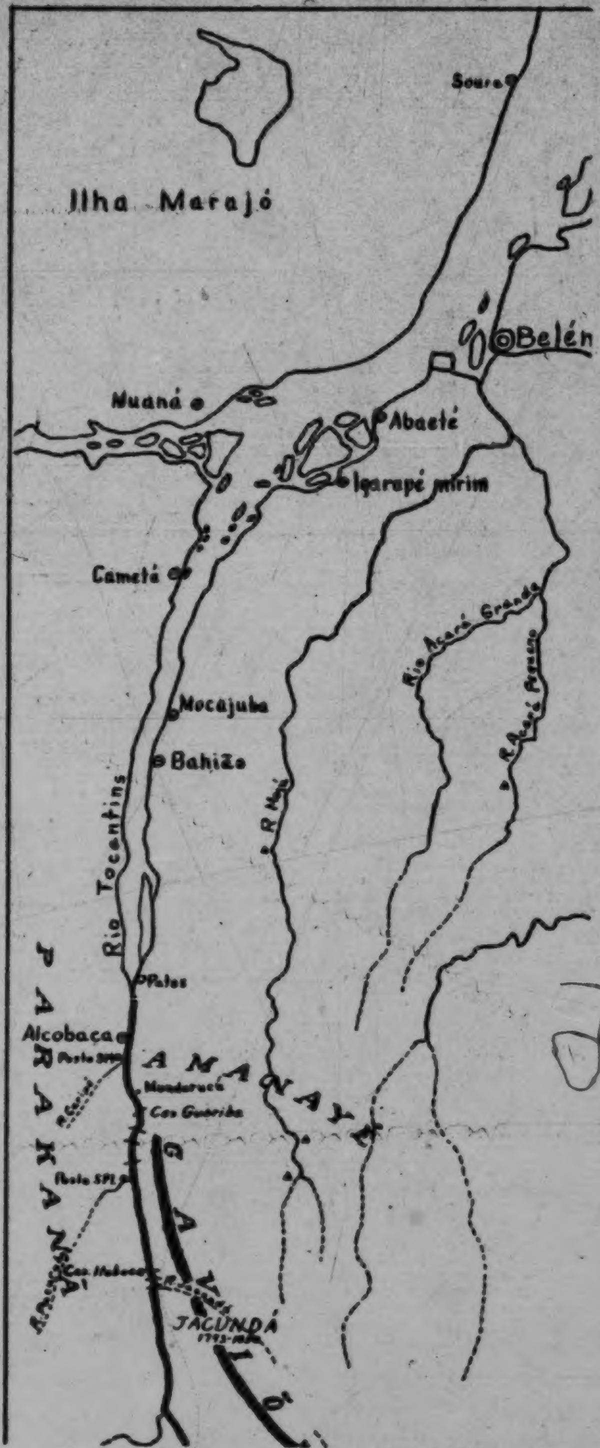
---

104 * In the rendering of the aboriginal terms with which the monograph bristles it seemed best to adhere to the orthography established for The Apinayé, a slight simplification of that chosen by Nimuendajú himself. A tilde over vowels indicates nasalization; a short hook below a vowel designates it as postpalatal. The latter symbol is necessary, because it defines a phonemic difference. The following values hold for symbols requiring explanation:

ē = first German e in Ehe
ō = German o in ohne
ö, ü = as in German
ń = half vocalic ng
š = English sh
č = Spanish ch
ž = French j
x = German ch in ach
' = glottal stop

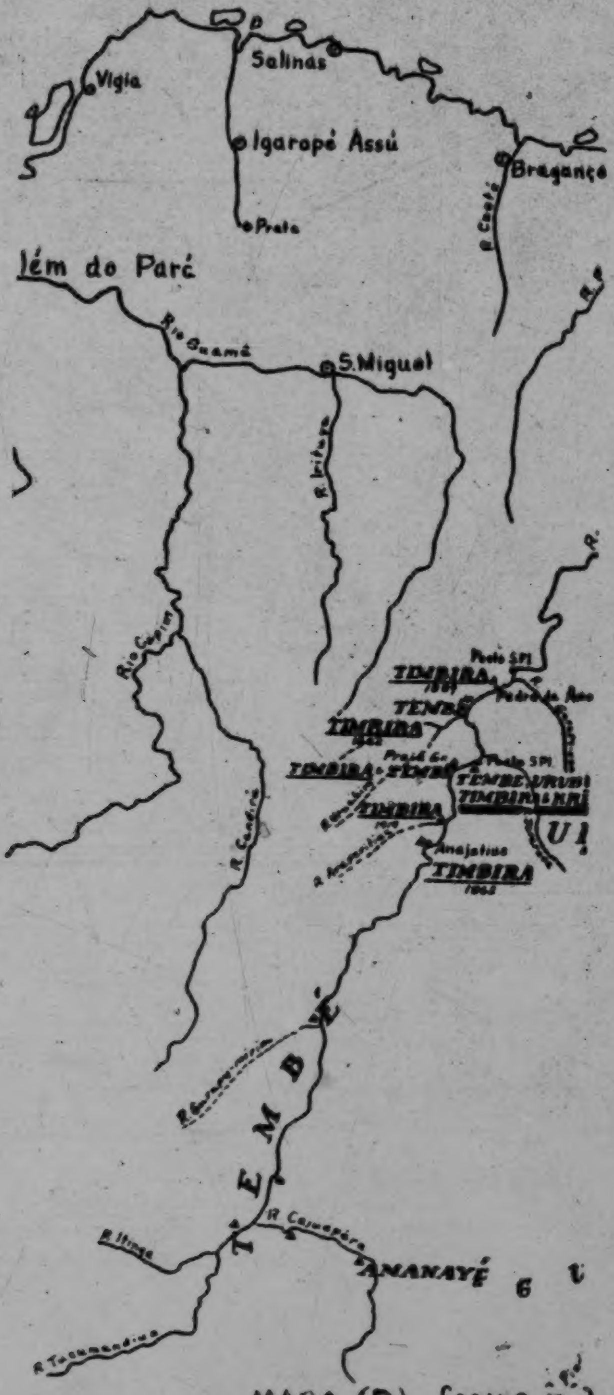
1:Nimuendaju E-5(1929-1936)1946 S08 Timbira S08

102
131


Soure
Ilha Marajó
Belén
Muaná
Abaeté
Igarapé mirim
Cametá
Rio Acará Grande
R. Acará Pequeno
Mocajuba
Bahião
R. Moju
Rio Tocantins
Palos
Alcobaça
Posto SPI
Mundurucú
Cas Guariba
Posto SPI
PARAKANÃ
AMANAYÉ
GAVIÕ
JACUNDÁ

Map 1 (A) facing p.2

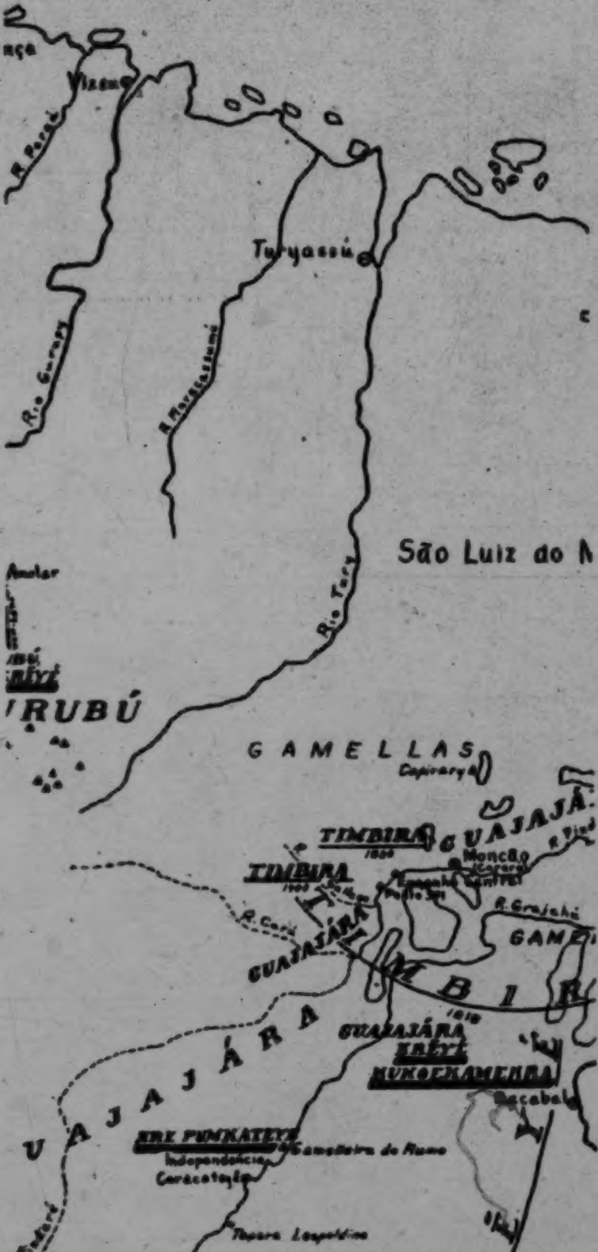
102
131


Vigia
Salinas
Igarapé Assú
Bragança
Prata
R. Caeté
lém do Pará
Rio Guamá
S. Miguel
R. Irituya
Rio Capim
R. Candirú
Posto SPI
TIMBIRA
TEMBÉ
Pedro do Ano
TIMBIRA
Prazé Gr.
TIMBIRA
TEMBÉ
Posto SPI
TEMBÉ URUB
TIMBIRA KRI
TIMBIRA
U
Anajatiua
TIMBIRA
R. Anajatiua
TEMBÉ
R. Guamá-mirim
R. Caju-apára
R. Itinga
ANANAYÉ
R. Tocumendiua

MAP 1 (B) facing p. 2

1:Nimuendaju E-5(1929-1936)1946 S08 Timbira S08

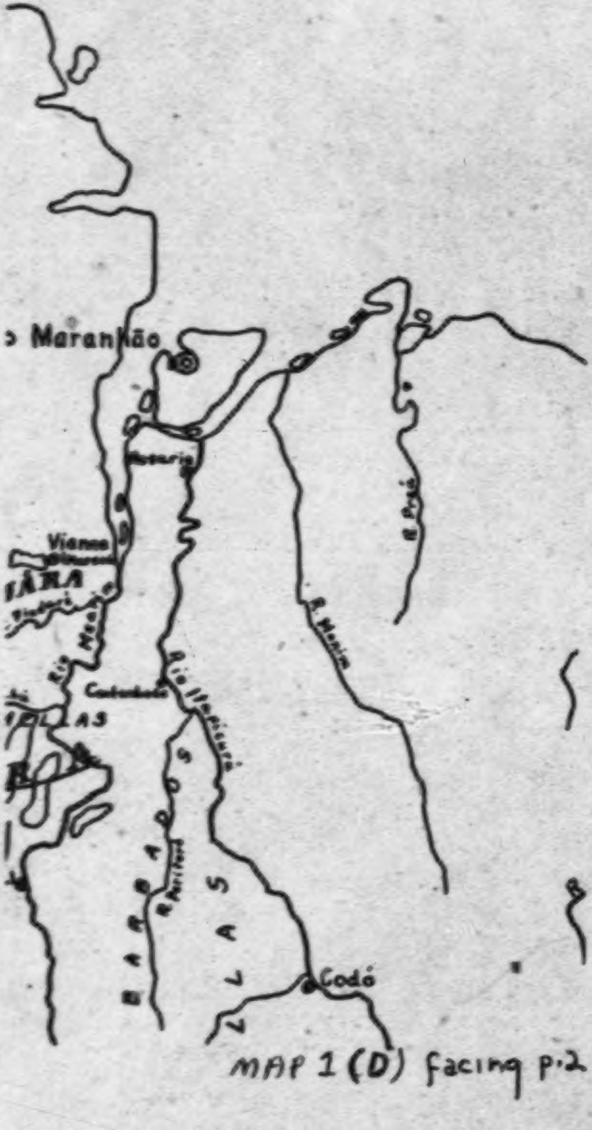
102
131


nça
Vizeu
R. Pirauá
Turyassú
Rio Guruípy
R. Maracassumé
São Luiz do M
Amlar
RUBÚ
Rio Tury
GAMELLAS
Capirary
TIMBIRA
1800
GUAJAJÁ
R. Pind
Moncão
(Carará)
TIMBIRA
1900
Engenho Central
R. Cururú
R. Grajahú
GUAJAJÁRA
GAM
T I M B I R
1810
GUAJAJÁRA
KRÉYE
MAKRAKAMEKRA
Bacabal
KRE PUMKATEYE
Gameleira do Rumo
Independência
Caracatahy
Theora Leopoldina
Pindaré
U A J A J Á R A

MAP 1 (c) facing p.2

1:Nimuendaju B-5(1929-1936)1946 S08 Timbira S08

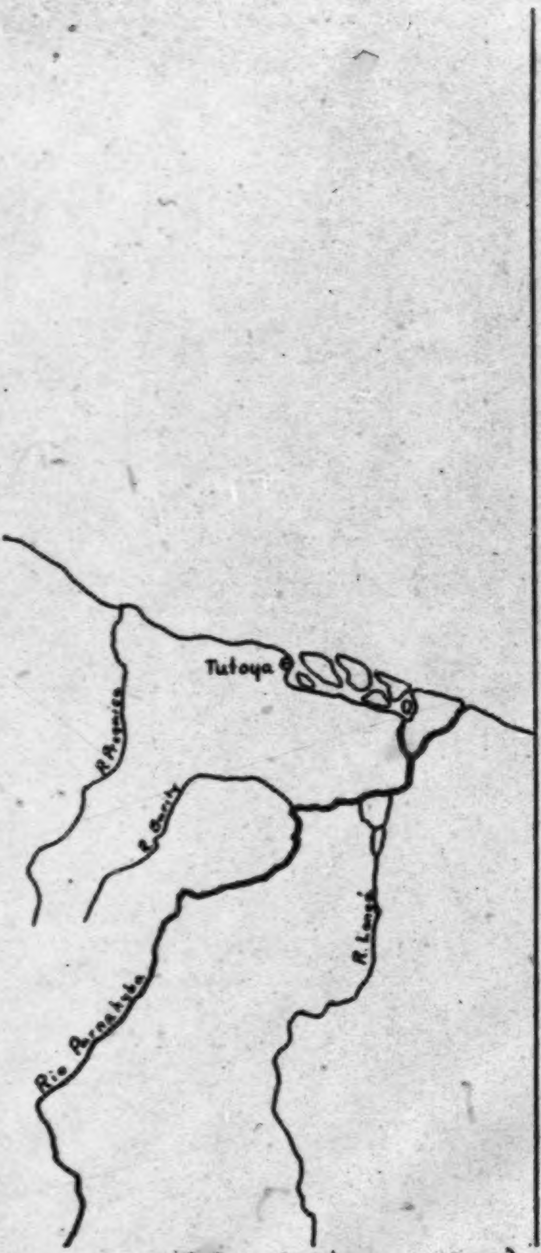
102
131


Maranhão
Rosario
Vianna
ÃRA
Rio Mearim
Cantanhede
AS
Rio Itapicurú
R. Munim
R. Preá
R. Peritoró
BARRADOS
LLAS
Codó

MAP 1 (D) facing p.2

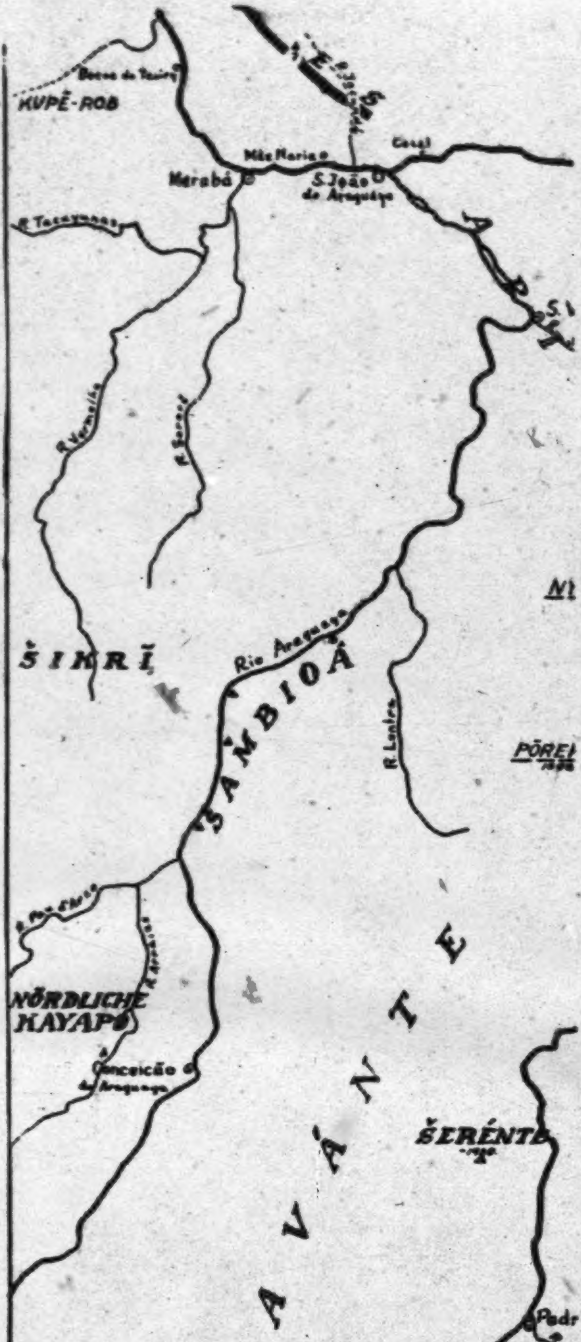
1:Nimuendaju E-5(1929-1936)1946 S08 Timbira S08

102
131


Tutoya
R. Preguiça
R. Buriti
Rio Parnahyba
R. Longá

MAP 1 (E) facing p.2

102
131

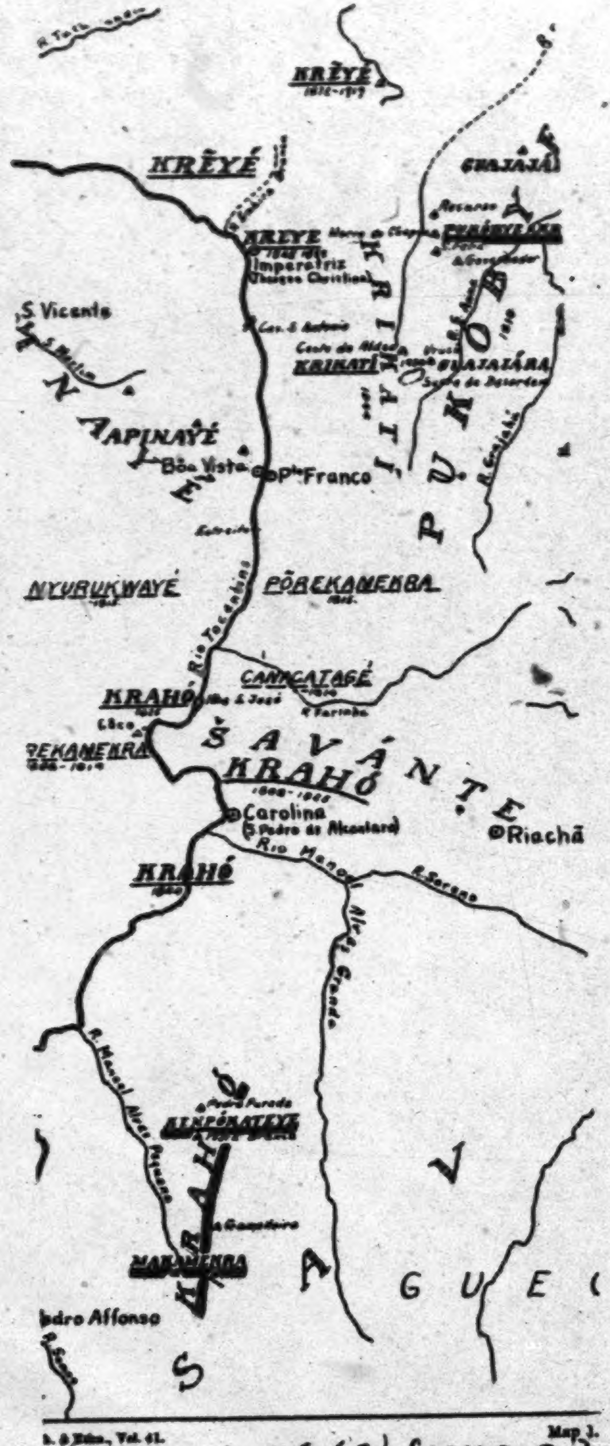

Bocca do Tauiry
KUPĚ-ROB
Marabá
Mãe Maria
Casal
S. João do Araguaya
R. Tacayunas
E
A
P
S. I
R. Vermelho
R. Sororó
NI
ŠIKRĪ
Rio Araguaya
ŠAMBIOÁ
R. Lontra
PÕREI
NÖRDLICHE KAYAPÓ
R. Arraias
Conceição do Araguaya
ŠAVÁNTE
ŠERÉNTE
Padr
ŠERENTE

To accompany Kurt Nimuendajú, "The Eastern Timbira," Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. &

MAP 1 (F) Facing p. 2

1:Nimuendaju E-5(1929-1936)1946 S08 Timbira S08

102
131



KRĒYÉ
KRĒYÉ
KREYE
Imperatriz
S. Vicente
GUAJAJÁ
Rosario
Morro do Chapéu
Coc. S. Antonio
Couto de Aldeia
KRIKATÍ
GUAJAJÁRA
Sucuro do Desordem
R. Grajahú
K R I K A T I
P U K Ó B Y E
1818
N
APINAYÉ
Bôa Vista
Pto Franco
Estreito
NYURUKWAYÉ
PÕREKAMEKRA
Rio Tocantins
KRAHÓ
Ilha S. José
R. Farinha
PEKANEKRA
Š A V Á N T E
KRAHÓ
Carolina
(S. Pedro de Alcantara)
Riachã
Rio Manoel Alves Grande
R. Sereno
KRAHÓ
R. Manoel Alves Pequeno
Pedra Furada
KRAHÓ
Gameleira
MAKAMEKRA
Pedro Affonso
S A
G U E

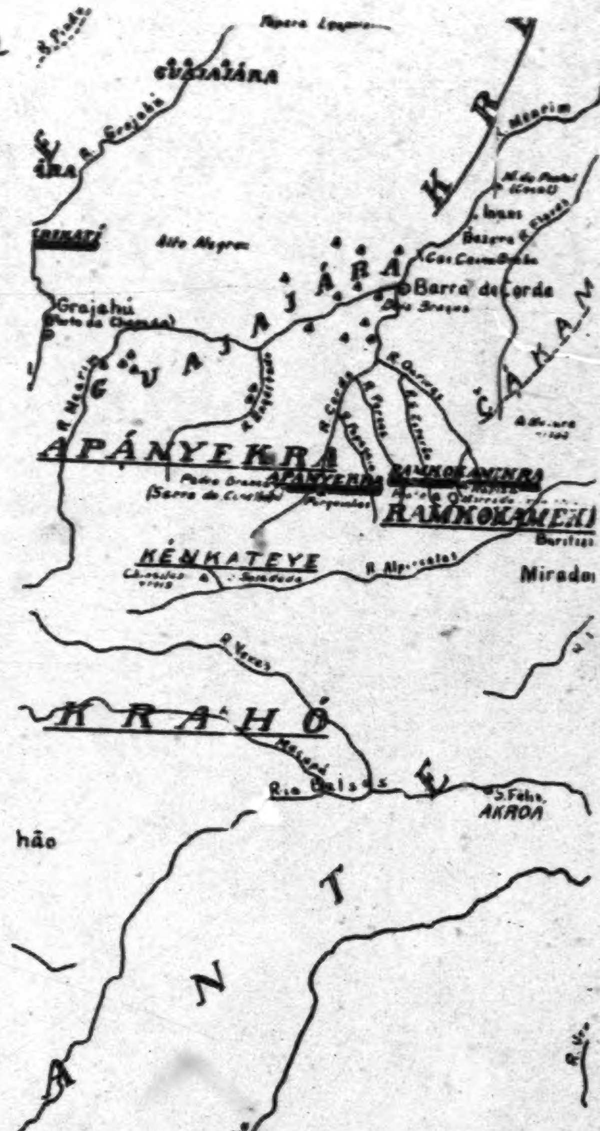
Am. Ethn., Vol. 41.

Map 1.

MAP 1 (G) facing p. 2

1:Nimuendaju E-5(1929-1936):946 S08 Timbira S08

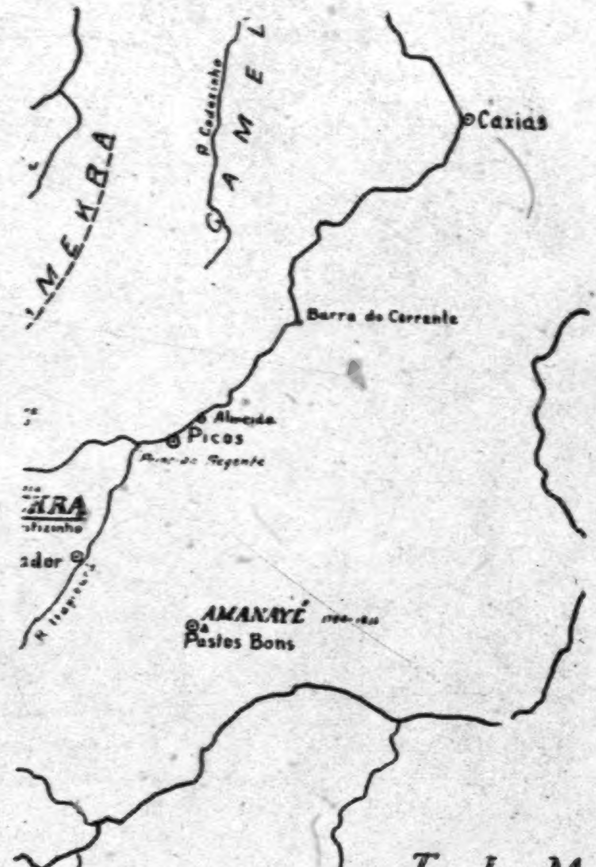
102
131


GUAJAJÁRA
R. Grajahú
KRIKATÍ
Alto Alegre
Grajahú
R. Mearim
G U A J A J Á R A
K R Y
Mearim
Ipuas
Barra do Corda
Dois Braços
Ç A K A M
APÁNYEKRA
APÁNYEKRA
RAMKOKAMEKRA
RAMKOKAMEKRA
KÉNKATEYE
R. Alpercatas
Mirador
KRAHÓ
Rio Balsas
S. Felix
AKROA
hão
A N T
Rio Parnahyba
G U E & A K R

.p.1. Eastern Timbira (underlined) and neighboring tribes. Broken line indicat

MAP 1(H) facing p.2

102
131

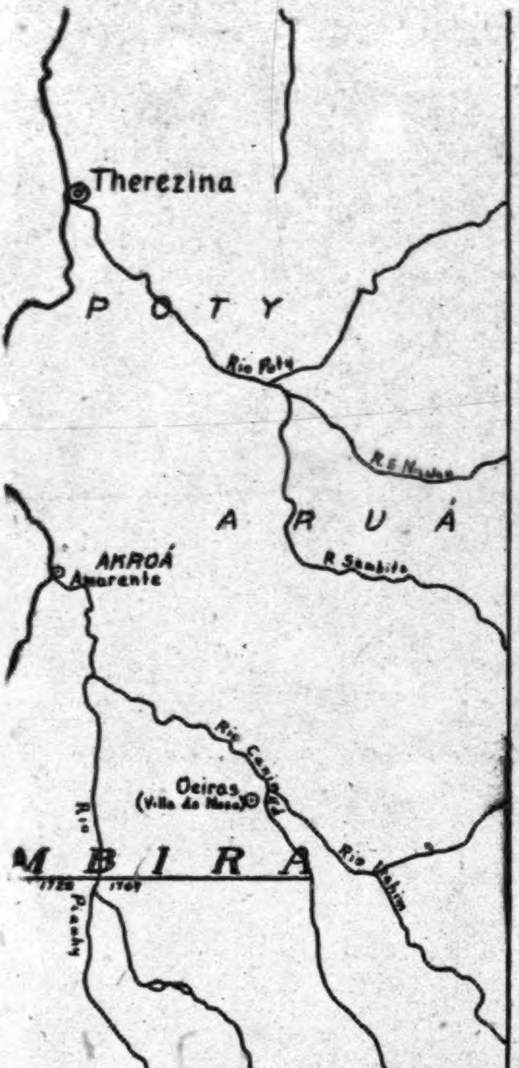

Caxias
R. Codozinho
A M E L
M E K R A
Barra do Corrente
Almeida
Picos
Porto do Regente
KRA
ador
R. Itapecuru
AMANAYÉ
Pastos Bons
T I M
R. Uruçuhy Grande
Rio Gurguéia
R O Á

ndicates extinct or merged tribes.

MAP 1 (I) facing p.2

1:Nimuendaju E-5(1929-1936)1946 S08 Timbira S08

102
131


Therezina
P O T Y
Rio Poty
R S Nicolau
A R U Á
AKROÁ
Amarante
R Sambito
Rio Canindé
Oeiras
(Villa do Mocha)
Rio
Piauhy
M B I R A
1728
1769
Rio Itahim
O
C
I
A
J

MAP 1 (J) facing p.2

133 in the watersheds, where a tougher stratum of rock offered more vigorous resistance to weathering. Seldom does the elevation of these *serras* exceed a hundred meters above the valley bottom, and everywhere it remains below three hundred meters above sea level. Notwithstanding their insignificance, however, these hills have played a great part in Timbira history, since their steep walls formed natural forts to which the Indians retreated on the approach of enemies.

There is no statement concerning Timbira tribes ever inhabiting the low coastal steppes of Maranhão, which are periodically exposed to inundations; but the more northerly tribes of this branch did formerly share the lake region, well stocked with fish, that extends on both sides of the lower Pindaré, Grajahú, and Mearim. However, the true home of the Timbira people lies in the arid steppe: only there— [182] not in the primeval Amazonian forests—was it possible for the peculiar Timbira culture to evolve.

132 The climate is noticeably drier than in the adjacent Amazonian area. Unlike the territory farther east and southeast, the country does not suffer the terrors of a drought, yet there is a definite dry season from July until December. This sharp division into a rainy and a dry period affects not only economic but also social life.

Naturally on cloudless days the tropical heat from the sun is intense in the open steppe, and after noon the sand grows so hot that even Indians cannot stand on it with comfort. But after midnight the temperature often drops to such an extent that a fire is required outdoors, especially if a wind should begin to blow before sunrise.

CONQUEST AND WHITE SETTLEMENT

175 The Timbira country was simultaneously occupied by civilized newcomers along four distinct avenues of approach: (1) from São Luiz do Maranhão up the Mearim and Itapicurú; (2) from Pará up the Tocantins; (3) from Goyaz down the Tocantins; (4) from Bahia across the steppes to the northwest, across Piauhy.

Oddly enough, it was the last of these attempts at settlement that proved most potent and most significant for the Indians, for in the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth Bahia was a center for Portuguese colonization, while São Luiz, Pará, and Goyaz formed mere outposts.

The Portuguese probably did not come into close contact with the Timbira until after the expulsion of the French from the island of Maranhão. Then, in 1624, Bento Maciel Parente, notorious as a butcher of Indians, established a fort at the mouth of the Itapicurú, below the present town of Rosario, and afflicted the tribes of the vicinity by his slave raids.[1] Then followed Jesuit activity: in the 'sixties of the seventeenth century, the missionaries labored hard with the Guajajára, a Tupí tribe that at every opportunity fled back into the woods. They also had stations on the Itapicurú and Monim, but these failed to exert any influence on the savage Kaikaí and Uruatí suffering grievously from attacks by them. Throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century, indeed, until 1731, the Portuguese fought for the possession of northeastern Maranhão, between the Itapicurú and the Parnahyba. Whether the aborigines of that region included Timbira, remains unascertainable. At all events, the tenacious resistance of diverse Indian tribes rendered progress along this line relatively slow.

In the meantime the Jesuits, accompanied by military escorts, also entered the Tocantins area.[2] In 1763, a troop of Paulistas appeared, probably descending the Tocantins. They were headed by Pascoal Paes de Araujo, who enslaved the peace-

---

[1] Berredo, Annaes, 1:191. Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Itapicurú Grande."

[2] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 1.

175 able Guarajú on the right bank of the lower Tocantins in defiance of the ordinances of Capitão Francisco da Motta Falcão, who had been dispatched against him from Pará.[3]

In 1674 the conquest of Piauhy was inaugurated by an expedition against the aldeas of the "Gurgas" (Gurgueia); it started from the Rio São Francisco and was led by Domingos Affonso, Julião Affonso, and others.[4] In 1694 there followed Francisco Garcia de Avila's great expedition with 1350 men to the region of the Itapicurú headwaters.[5] Paranaguá was founded in 1698,[6] and in 1722 Villa da Moxo (subsequently known as Oeiras) was laid out as the capital of the new capitania Piauhy. For 1728 there is a record of a great Timbira invasion in this locality,[7] the first literary mention of the people, proving that they then lived east of the Parnahyba as well. However, their range there could not have been very extensive, since the lower Rio Poty was held by the tribe of that name,[8] while the Aruá lived in the municipio Valença; the Jaicó, on the upper Gurgueia and Canindé; and to the west of the Gurgueia, the Gogué and Akroá. In other words, the Timbira east of the Parnahyba were probably restricted to the district of the lower Canindé, Piauhy, and perhaps also of the Gurgueia. Their last remnants in that territory seem to have been annihilated during the Akroá wars.[9] In 1763 and 1769 there are still records of wars against the Timbira of Piauhy.[10] Subsequently, the Gogué and Akroá—demonstrably of the Akwẽ, not the Timbira, branch of the Gê—are the only tribes referred to for that area.

In 1764 there was established São Bento dos Pastos Bons between the Parnahyba and the upper Itapicurú. Thus, in the vicinity of Caxias the wave of colonization from Bahia met that following the course of the Itapicurú from the coast of Maranhão onward.

After 1782 Goyaz and Pará had scant intercourse via the Tocantins. In 1808 there appeared at this river the trader Francisco José Pinto de Magalhães, coming from Goyaz. In 1810 he made peace with the Krahô', who had been defeated in the previous year, and founded the settlement of São Pedro de Alcantara on the site of what is today Carolina. About the same time the stockbreeder Elias de Barros, starting from his fazenda on the Rio Sereno, had reached the Tocantins, descending the Rio Manoel Alves Grande, and had established a land connection with Goyaz.[11]

Thus by 1810 there had arisen in the southern part of Timbira territory a zone of settlement that extended uninterruptedly from east to west straight across southern Maranhão, from the Parnahyba to the Tocantins—a zone that was gradually to widen northward. This was the classical period of the *bandeiras,* about which Ribeiro—for many years an eyewitness and an occasional participant—has registered interesting details.[12]

The relations between the newcomers and the Indians were treated as the settlers' private affair until the aborigines attacked the settlements in order to bar further encroachments or attempted to recover lost territories. Then the settlers would invoke aid from the government, which, however, in the main let them shift for themselves. In several instances the border commandant did furnish some regular troops or even assumed personal charge. But typically an attack on a fazenda was followed by a bandeira. This never comprised more than 200 men since many of the prospective able-bodied recruits evaded service by flight. It always required a month or two to get such a troop ready to march. Undisciplined and uninterested in their enterprise, poorly armed and even less adequately equipped with ammunition, these men were quite unfit to inflict a decisive defeat on warlike tribes or to bring them into subjection. As a matter of fact, until Ribeiro's period, 1819, such raids against the Gamella of Codó, the Čą'kamekra, and the Pųkóbye invariably ended with a more or less serious defeat of the bandeira, whose purposes the Indians thwarted by simply retreating to their natural strongholds, the rocky eminences scattered all over the country.

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[3] Berredo, Annaes, 2:212–216.

[4] Pereira da Costa, Chronologia, 7, 8. Pereira de Alencastre, Memoria, 14, 19.

[5] Penetraçao, 79.

[6] Pereira de Alencastre, Memoria, 15.

[7] Annaes, 3:268.

[8] Pereira de Alencastre, Memoria, 52.

[9] *Ibid.,* 35, 36.

[10] Annaes, 2:92; 8:22.

[11] Marques, Apontamentos, "Carolina"; "Manoel Alves Grande." Ribeiro, Memoria, § 72. Pereira de Alencastre, Annaes, 28:82, 87. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:375. Almeida, Carolina, 13.

[12] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 75–79; *idem.,* Roteiro, 75–79.

Where force of arms failed the colonists often sought to gain their ends by false proposals of peace and mendacious promises, made through interpreters to the fortified Timbira; those who trustingly met the bandeira were then enslaved or massacred. Ribeiro cites several instances of such treachery, which victimized the Čą'kamekra, Põrekamekra, and Augutgé. This behavior, according to him, more than all causes rendered a peaceable solution of the Indian problem impossible. Further, after fruitless efforts against their true enemies, the bandeiras repeatedly turned against weaker and peaceable tribes, which they attacked and enslaved without cause. Foremost among those addicted to this policy were the inhabitants of São Pedro de Alcantara, led by its founder, Magalhães, and aided by their Krahõ' allies.

According to Ribeiro's explicit statement, the Indian wars were due to the colonists' craving for slaves rather than to the need of opening up new territories. The Portuguese government in general prohibited the enslavement of Indians, but by a decree (1808) had lifted the ban under certain conditions with respect to the Botocudo of Minas Geraes. The settlers of Maranhão were only too eager to extend this provision to the Timbira and Gamella. For that reason they tried in every possible way to bring them into the category of "Botocudo," either by emphasizing their labrets and earplugs or by attempting to prove historically that the natives of Maranhão were identical with Botocudo hordes from Minas which the Coroados had driven to the boundaries of this province in 1758.

The year 1811 witnessed the first complete descent of the Rio Grajahú, but sundry attempts at settlement along its banks (1814–1817) all failed in more or less tragic fashion. In 1841 travelers from São Luiz laid out Barra do Corda. In 1848 there started from Pará the first attempt at a military colony on the site of what is now Imperatriz, though its actual establishment was achieved only four years later. In 1850, emanating from Goyaz, were founded the missionary stations of Piabanha and Pedro Affonso on the Tocantins, being designed for the Šerénte and the Krahõ'.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the resistance of the Timbira, weakened by war and disease, perceptibly waned. The dreaded Matteiros (=Čą'kamekra) and Gaviões (=Pųkóbye) made peace, as did the Timbira of the Pindaré, Grajahú, and Mearim; the bandeiras grew rarer and finally ceased. However, no true and honest peace ensued; endless friction had at last inured the conflicting parties to bearing with each other after a fashion, yet at bottom bitter hostility prevailed.

Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:805.

175 This maladjustment is rooted in the weakness of the Portuguese-Brazilian colonization in this area. For the earlier and largely even the present fazendeiros of the sertão of Maranhão must not be pictured in the image of the landed gentry of Rio Grande do Sul or São Paulo. On the contrary, they have been predominantly recruited from among miserable and culturally backward folk. Owning a handful of livestock, they lay claim to hundreds of square kilometers of land, where they do little cultivation and nothing to promote law and order. Devoid of public spirit and social solidarity, each individual vegetates for himself. As long as he still fears his Indian neighbor, the settler will swallow his hatred and repugnance, flatter a *compadre* who meets him with self-assurance, play the part of a disinterested friend, and connive at stock lifting.

On the other hand, the feeble bandeira warfare and the infamous treachery of the trucebearers could hardly inspire the Indians with esteem for their civilized neighbors, nor did the colonists' affected amiability deceive the natives as to their true sentiments. The Indian still considers his hereditary territory as his own, irrespective of whether the settlers have duped a chief into permitting them to reside there. The native treats it as a foregone conclusion that he may, from time to time, appropriate a head of livestock from the herds kept on the Indian land—all the more so because hunting always decreases as the cattle increase. Ultimately a stage is reached when the tribe is so weak and settlers have encroached to such a degree that they drop the mask of friendship. Now the colonist assumes the role of lord and legal master of the entire tract: by chicanery, threats, violence, if not wholesale massacre, he tries to rid himself of his erstwhile *compadres*. This is the point reached by virtually all Timbira tribes nowadays; their scant remnants form only tiny enclaves within the territory occupied by Neobrazilian ranchers and farmers.

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648 So far as they affect the Timbira, a few words suffice concerning the earlier governmental decrees and the present Indian Welfare Service (Serviço de Protecção aos Indios). Those ordinances issued in the interest of the Indians as a rule remained wholly futile; and the Welfare Service has likewise failed to abolish the principal abuses during the twenty-eight years since its establishment. An ideal institution on paper, it is rendered ineffective by administrative red tape, by the lack of suitable personnel, and the meager appropriations for so arduous an undertaking; moreover, the funds allotted sometimes fail to be disbursed for years. Though unable to prevent or punish the massacre of the Kénkateye in 1913, the Service nevertheless represents the Indians' sole official safeguard. It must be credited with having aided them in many minor difficulties; and they have often been saved from deeds of violence merely because the would-be perpetrators were afraid of the Indian agent in Barra do Corda. The revolution of 1930 rendered even this last protective agency on the Indians' behalf wholly ineffective.

Not a single Timbira tribe owns a square meter of land by Brazilian law or *de facto*. Ever since the fighting subsided, innumerable delegations of these tribes have petitioned the state and the federal government to stop further encroachments on their land. These embassies have always been amicably welcomed and assured of their rights, but there has never been the slightest effort to validate them. Instead of such legal recognition the Timbira have received governmental alms, such as clothing and tools. Even nowadays annual delegations turn up in the several state capitals, but they rarely mention land any more, contenting themselves with asking for gifts.

CLASSIFICATION OF TIMBIRA TRIBES: TIMBIRA AND GÊ-CRAN

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The ethnic individuality, homogeneity, and Gê affinities of the Timbira are too manifest to have been challenged by any serious observer. Opinions diverge solely as to their position within the Gê family; as to what tribes should be added to their branch of the Gê; and with respect to possible subdivisions.

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In this monograph I embrace under the caption Timbira the fifteen tribes listed below; in each case the allocation rests either on available samples of the language or on some competent investigator's statement that the speech in question is to be equated with that of a linguistically documented member of the branch. Although terminologically the classification follows the cardinal directions, the actual criterion is purely linguistic, there being a remarkably close correlation of geographical distribution with linguistic relationship. Dialectically, then, I offer the following classification:

Eastern Timbira

Northern group:
  1. Timbira of Araparytiua (Gurupy)
  2. Krẽyé of Bacabal
  3. Kukóekamekra of Bacabal
Southern group:
  4. Krẽyé of Cajuapára
  5. Krikatí
  6. Pųkóbye
7. Western or Forest Gaviões (?)
8. Kre'pų'mkateye
9. Krahó'
10. Põrekamekra (?)
11. Kénkateye
12. Apą'nyekra
13. Rąmkõ'kamekra
14. Čą'kamekra

Western Timbira

15. Apinayé

In my opinion the nearest relatives of the Timbira are the several subdivisions of the Northern Kayapó; further, the Southern Kayapó and the Suyá. These four groups I should unite under the category of Northwestern Gê. I separate from them however the Gogué-Akroá, whom I class as Central Gê (a term that includes the Šerénte-Šavánte and the Šakriabá). The Jaicó are likewise distinct from the Timbira, but I am unable to assign these Gê to any definite branch within the stock. As for the Southern and Eastern Gê, this is not the appropriate place to discuss them, and I also purposely refrain from characterizing tribes as Gê on ethnographic grounds since the concept is primarily a linguistic one.

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Let me now scrutinize the way in which other authors have defined the Timbira.

Critique of Ribeiro.—The oldest chronicler of the Timbira is the previously mentioned Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. From 1800 until his assassination in 1823 he served as an officer along the Timbira frontier and, as commandant of Pastos Bons, had to go to war against these Indians four times. In his Memoria sobre as Nacões Gentias (1819) he distinguishes two "dialects" in Maranhão—Timbira and Gamella. To the speech of the several Timbira "nations" he ascribes merely "aquella differença trivial que a distancia de umas e outras povoações de mesma raça lhes permitte." He devotes separate chapters to the following Timbira tribes: (1) Timbira of the lower Mearim (= Krẽyé and Kukóekamekra); (2) Sacamekrans (= Čą'kamekra); (3) Capiekrans (= Rąmõ'kamekra); (4) Piócobgêz (= Pųkóbye); (5) Purecamekrans (= Põrekamekra); (6) Macamekrans (= Krahó').

Incidentally, he further mentions the Canaquetgêz (= Karẽkateye ?); Norocoagêz (= Nyurukwayé); Poncatgêz (= Põkateye); Ponecra (= Apą'nyekra); Augutgêz (= ?); and the Apinagêz. As for the Bu, of whom he had heard in 1800, he conjectures that they either had never existed or had been exterminated by other tribes.

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This thorough observer of the primitive Timbira commits a single blunder in regarding his "Timbira of the lower Mearim" as of the same tribe as the Guajajára, instead of affiliating the latter with the Indians he had seen in the village of Vianna, whom he suspected, correctly enough, of kinship with the Tupinambá. At the opening of the nineteenth century the Guajajára of the middle Pindaré had probably been cut off from all contact with civilization by the warlike Gamella of Vianna and the Timbira of the lower Mearim, Grajahú, and Pindaré, so that they were known only by name. For in 1820 Pereira do Lago, too, confuses them with the Timbira in question; and Martius' statements concerning this Tupí people are extraordinarily contradictory. Now he treats them as descendants of the Tobajara, then he equates them with the Buco-Bûs, that is, Pųkóbye; and finally they turn into a horde of Mundurucú.[24]

Critique of Martius.—Unfortunately Martius' personal contacts with Timbira were limited to a brief meeting with a troop of some twenty Krahô' and Apą'nyekra who were visiting the town of Caxias in 1819. In his masterly fashion he describes the impressive appearance and behavior of these Indians, establishing the complete similarity of both tribes as to looks, manners and speech. All his other statements about the Timbira, as well as other Maranhão tribes, were derived from personal communications by Ribeiro and by Luiz de Oliveira Figueiredo, who had for seven years served as judge in Caxias.[25]

Subsequently Martius for the first time determined the linguistic and cultural affinity of the Timbira with a considerable number of other tribes in Goyaz and the adjoining districts of Maranhão, Bahia, Piauhy, and Pará. All these he grouped together as Gêz, recognizing a Southern branch, viz. the [Southern] Cayapós, Chavantes, Cherentes, and Chicriabás; and a Northern branch, viz. Gêz proper, Crans, and Acroás. As members of the stock he further included the Masacará, Aracujá, Pontás, Geicós, and Gogués.[26]

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The dichotomy rests on the ending of the tribal names, either -gêz (=ye) or -crans (=kra). In contrast to Ribeiro, Martius defines only the latter as Timbira. He further considers it likely that the Crans were the "sons"—a recent offshoot—of the "paternal" Gêz proper. For, he argues, the Crans occupy the northernmost tracts (which is the precise reverse of the contention in his other work),[27] while the Gê stock as a whole had undoubtedly moved from the south northward. He further tried to derive certain Cran "clan" names from Gêz equivalents.

It seems worth while to examine these conjectures, for which purpose we may first of all determine the meaning attached to the terms Timbira, Cran, and Gêz.

According to Martius, the term Timbira is referred by some to the custom of wearing tight armlets and footbands of bast (=embira, imbira), but he himself is inclined rather to derive the word from tembetá, tembetara, the Tupí term for a lip plug. Apart from the phonetic impossibility of deriving the term Timbira from tembetara, only a small section of the Timbira branch perforated the lower lip. Ribeiro had already separated the Gamella, who were conspicuously labret wearers, from the Timbira, with whom Martius, to be sure, erroneously classes them. On the other hand, the earplug is indeed a tribal badge of the Timbira, but (contrary to Martius' apparent assumption) the word for labret cannot be extended to these ornaments, for it is derived from tembé, lower lip. Nor will imbira, the designation

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[24] Martius, Beiträge, 1:193, 286, 394.

[25] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:818–825.

[26] Martius, Beiträge, 1:257 f.

[27] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:823.

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for bast in the northern lingua geral, serve the purpose since it leaves the initial T unaccounted for.

I, too, assume a reference to the bands these people wear—not only on their arms and feet, but also below the knee, on the wrists, around the neck, the chest, and the forehead. However, the name is not derived from imbira, bast, but is a compound of tĩ, to bind, and pį'ra, passive, with the initial "p" of the second element transmuted into "mb" because of the preceding nasal vowel. Thus, the term Timbira would correspond to "the bound ones,"—but only on the assumption that the tribal name is of Tupí origin, which cannot be treated as a priori certain.

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Cran or rather kra does mean "son," but also "tribe" or "people." For example; ampó kra ma ka, Of what tribe are you? i pe Apą'nyekra, I am of the Piranha tribe. However, in the formation of tribal names this kra is commonly preceded by the particle kame, of which me- precedes only nouns referring to human beings, while I am not very clear as to the manifold uses of ka.

Gêz is the rather infelicitous Portuguese rendering of the suffix ye (Apinayé ya) in Timbira speech. It terminates only designations of kinship, social functions, and tribal names of the Timbira. In the two latter instances it is generally, though not invariably, preceded by kate. This suffix designates the person owning the thing expressed by the noun. Frequently the meaning becomes locative.

In other words, whether a tribal name ends in -kra or -ye depends solely on the meaning of the substantive used. The -ye tribes cannot be separated from the -kra tribes, nor can either group be legitimately made to descend from the other. Ribeiro remained quite free from this error. Actually, the Timbira of Cajuapára are called indiscriminately Pihą'kamekra or Krẽyé; while the Krahõ' are subdivided into the Mąkamekra (mą, ostrich; ostrich people) and Kenpókateye (kenpo, flat rock; people of the flat rock).

Martius is equally in error in deriving certain kra names from ye equivalents. The names Piocabgêz and Piocamecrans are unrelated: the former is derived from pųkób, yam (*Dioscorea* sp.), the latter from pihą', weaverbird (*Cassicus* sp.). Similarly, the term Poncatagêz is traceable to põ (steppe), Ponicrans to apą'n (piranha [*Serrasalmo* sp.]). The illegitimacy of Martius' criteria for assuming a Bûs subdivision has been set forth elsewhere.[18]

Finally, the settlers' division of the branch into Timbira da Matta, Timbira de Canella fina, and Timbira de Bocca furada obviously cannot be taken seriously for ethnological purposes. Martius himself, in volume 1 of his Beiträge, puts the Aponegicrans (= Apą'nyekra) into the first of these groups, while in his second volume they figure as Timbira de Canella fina. Of the contemporary Gaviõęs, one group lives in the Amazon forests, the other on the steppe.

The discovery of the Gê stock in a wider sense is exclusively Martius' merit since he owed nothing to any predecessor. But his subdivision into Gêz proper, Crans, and Bûs rests on unacceptable principles.

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Critique of Von den Steinen and Ehrenreich.—In 1886 Karl von den Steinen studied Gê languages, which he grouped together with the Botocudo and Goytacá to form the Tapuya family. In this examination he considered only tribes for which linguistic material was then available. His subgroup of Western and Northern Gê embraces the Suyá, Apinayé, Apą'nyekra, the [Southern] Kayapó, and the Krahõ'. He further adds the Karayá, an allocation unconfirmed by any of his successors. His Central Gê comprise the Šavánte, Šerénte, Šakriaba, and Akroá; he does not so much as mention the Jaicó. Except for the allocation of the Karayá, Von den Stei-

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[18] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 5 f.

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nen's grouping of the two western subdivisions of the Gê stock forms an excellent basis for further elaboration.[29]

Ehrenreich, who subsequently himself collected better material from the Karayá, excluded them from the Gê stock and provided the following scheme for the Western group.[30]

Akroá
  Akroá
  Jeiko
  Gogues
Kayapó or Bu
  Southern Kayapó
  Northern Kayapó
      Uäikrin
      Kradaho
      Gaviões or Karakati

Northern Kayapó (*continued*)
      Apinayé
      Karaho
      Timbira or Gamella
Western Kayapó
      Suya
Akuä
      Chavantes
      Cherentes
      Chicriaba

Here I must make the comment that the Akroá (except for the Jaicó) are linguistically much closer to the Akwẽ than to the Kayapó. Specifically, Bu as a tribal name and synonym for Kayapó (Ehrenreich once refers to the Kayabus) is inadmissible, while Timbira and Gamella represent two (or three) distinct peoples. Apart from this, my own Northwestern Gê group is merely an amplification of Ehrenreich's Kayapó.

Critique of Rivet.—In 1925 Rivet published a new classification of the Gê.[31] With reference to the Northwestern and Central branches, his scheme is as follows:

Že septentrionaux:
  (1) Timbira de forêt
      Timbira du haut Gurupy
        Gamella
      Sakamekran
      Piokobže
      Augutže
      Kranže
      Paikože
  (2) Timbira de savanne
        Temembu (Bukobu, Manažó, Aponegikran)
        Kapiekran
        Makamekran (Karaôu, Kraô)
        Tamembo
        Karahó (Karakó)
        Kannakaže (Kannakatže)
        Purekamekran
        Ponkatže
        Norokoaže

Že centraux:
  (1) Kayapó
        Kayapó
        Mãkubenkokré
        Gradahó
        Kurupite (Purukaru)
        Gorotiré
        Karaho
        Uäikring
        Suyá
        Apinaže
        Gaviões (Krikatože, Karakati)
  (2) Šavánte Opaió (Arae)
      Šerénte
      Šikriabá
      Žeikó
      Akroá
      Gogue

As against Von den Steinen's and Ehrenreich's groupings, which rested only on reliable material, this later classification marks an unmistakable retrogression. The author has not merely included a large number of tribes for which historical documentation is hardly extant and linguistic evidence wholly wanting, but—strangely enough, in a linguistic classification—he has segregated his Timbira according to phyto-geographical principles. In coping with the chaos of synonyms Rivet has tried to simplify in a single case, infelicitously identifying the Temembu (prob-

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[29] Von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, 315 f.

[30] Ehrenreich, Die Einteilung.

[31] Les langues du monde.

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ably to be equated with the Krahõ′) with the Bucobu, Aponegikran, and Manažó. A little farther on he cites these Temembu again as Tamembó; the Bucubu have appeared twice before as Piokobzé and Paikosé; and the Manazó, a Tupí tribe, figure twice previously as Manažé and Amanajó. The Krahõ′, too, appear three times, twice among the Northern and once among the Central Gê. Rivet has, indeed, dropped the division into Gês, Crans, and Bus; but by way of compensation he separates the Apinayé, Krikatí, and Krahõ′ from the other Timbira and places them with the Kayapó among the Central Gê. For his Šavánte Opaié, who are not a Gê people at all, one must substitute Šavánte-Akwẽ.

Critique of W. Schmidt and Snethlage.—In 1926 Wilhelm Schmidt restored order by uniting the Kayapó and Akuã languages as Northern and Western Gê groups.[illegible] Under the head of Cayapó-Sprachen he lists Suyá, Cayapó, Carahó, Apinagés, Aponegicran, Capiecran, Timbira, Canela, and Crengez; as Akuã-Sprachen, he lists Chavante, Cherente, Chacriabá, Geico, and Acroá-Mirim. Here the only doubtful allocation is at most that of the Geicó.

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The last treatise on the Timbira is Snethlage's.[illegible] First among Martius' successors he reverts to the designation Cran (Krãn), making it comprise the Timbira-Gaviões, Kanella, Kraõ, Apinayé, Kayapó, and Suyá. The segregation of the Krãn from among the great conglomerate of Gê peoples (*Das Herausheben der Krãn aus dem grossen Konglomerat der Gê* [*Že*]*völker*) is in his opinion the outstanding result of his researches. That this subdivision already appears in Ehrenreich's and Schmidt's schemes, seems to have eluded him.

Partly because of his reliance on Rivet, the section on History and Statistics[illegible] surveying the several tribes contains a series of minor inaccuracies. I venture to correct these in the order of their occurrence.

1. I am unable to discover any source suggesting that the [Southern] Kayapó who had been overcome with Bororó assistance were split into two sections that were pushed northward and southward, respectively. Actually the Southern Kayapó escaped toward the southwest; the Northern Kayapó, as Ehrenreich already stressed and as a glance at the word lists demonstrates, by no means represent the same tribe, but are clearly distinct, even though closely related.

2. "Möglichkeit besteht, dass einige Stämme, die Kaingang und Cherente Akwé . . . auf diese oder ähnliche Weise (¡Abdrängung durch die Conquista!) nach Süden gekommen sind." This sentence is not clear to me. So far as I know, the Šerénte never got away from their ancient habitat; and their traditions point toward the southeast. The Kaingang, too, rather seem to have pushed northward.

3. As for the Krahõ′ tribe assigned by Sampaio to the northwest corner of the state of Bahia, it never existed. His informant, whom I knew personally, was a true Apinayé, who deliberately deceived Sampaio and others. I shall revert to this case.

The names Pepuxi, Puxiti, Petuxi, and Capepuxi (Kupẽpųčẽ′) are evidently more or less corrupted forms of Pųčéti, the Timbira word for the Akwẽ, hence without reference to the Krahõ′, one of whose subdivisions is represented by the Mą̃kamekra. Purekamekran (Põrekamekra) and Noroquagé (Nyurukwayé) were tribes distinct from the Krahõ′, and originally not even their neighbors. Afotigé and Otogé are synonyms for the Apinayé. It is unintelligible why part of the Krahõ′ should be regarded as "possibly identical with the Caracati"; the two tribes

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[illegible] Schmidt, Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise der Erde, 238.

[illegible] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind.

[illegible] *Ibid.*, 139–142.

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have been geographically and historically distinct from time immemorial and speak somewhat different dialects.

4. The author, following Rivet, incorrectly identifies the Aponegikrãn with the Temembó and Manajó. Capiecran, Corumecran, and Ręmkõ'kamekra all designate a single tribe, viz. the Canella of Ponto. The Sakamekrãn are neither identical with the Gamella of Codó nor do they come under the category of Canella. On the other hand, Acobu (Hakąpó) is the Timbira word for the Gamella. Of course, Apónyekrãn (or rather Apą'nyekra) and Aponegicran are merely different renderings of the same word.

5. The Tremembé could not possibly be identical with the Mujaraguano because, for one thing, Heriarte's description of the latter does not refer to any tribe of Maranhão. The Tremembé did not practice endocannibalism, but buried their dead in the sand of the ocean beach.[illegible]

6. It is incorrect to speak of the Temembó driving the Cannacatgé and Poncatgé out of the Rio Farinha district, especially if one identifies the aggressors with the Aponegicram, as the author does. According to Ribeiro, the Cannacatgé, who lived on the Farinha, were exterminated by São Pedro de Alcantara's bandeira in 1814; it is true that the Krahõ' (= Temembó) acted as allies of the expeditionary force.[illegible]

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7. The free Gaviões neither live on the Gurupy nor are they identical with the Krĕyé of that area or the Timbira of Araparytíua (whom I at one time erroneously designated as Mehĩ); still less can they be equated with the Urubú, a Tupí tribe. Their settlements, so far as we can at present surmise, lie near the headwaters of two rivulets which empty into the Tocantins somewhat above and below Mãe Maria, halfway between the Araguaya and the Tacayunas confluence. Although Snethlage is unquestionably right in considering the steppes the true home of the Timbira, it is an indubitable fact that a fair number of contemporary tribes of this branch inhabit the true rain forests. On the other hand, the "tame" Gaviões live in what are perhaps the purest steppe tracts of the entire region.

8. Near the sources of the Alpercatas and on the Rio Balsas there are no Indians nowadays. The former marked the habitat of the Kénkateye Canella before their extermination in 1913.

9. The statements Snethlage obtained from an old Apinayé about supposed relations of his tribe with the wild Gaviões are incorrect. The Apinayé are afraid of the tame Gaviões, let alone their wild brethren, who are shunned even by their peaceable congeners on the upper Pindaré. Snethlage's informant estimated the Krãnye population at 1000. Yet in 1914 I found the tribe to number about 100; the census of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios in 1919 sets the number at 65; and I have never known an Apinayé able to count with any assurance beyond twenty.

Omitting the distinction of Gês, Crans, and Bus because he evidently realized its inadequacy, Snethlage nevertheless retained the phrases Timbira da Matta and Timbira do Campo—notwithstanding his conclusion that basically all Timbira are steppe dwellers. How he got the designation Krãn, and especially why he invariably applies this nasalized form for the tribal names, I cannot comprehend. In his own word lists the unnasalized kra figures about half a dozen times with the meaning of "child," "son," "boy," "family." I am under the impression that he never heard the native terms for the tribes from the lips of the Indians, but adopted the forms I had used in a provisional communication to Father Koppers.[illegible] For example, he

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[illegible] Betendorf, Chronica, 319.

[illegible] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 70, 83.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, Im Gebiet der Gê Völker.

114 101 writes "Krãnye" instead of "Krẽyé," though the name has nothing to do with kra (head) or kra (tribe), but is derived from krẽre (dwarf parrot), a word Snethlage himself records in his lists as "krenrã" and "krenãrã." He has not corrected the errors of my earlier orthography.

TRIBAL NAMES IN TIMBIRA SPEECH

T 101 619 The Timbira know that they are the several tribes of a major ethnic unit, which they define above all—apart from the greater or lesser linguistic homogeneity—by the presence of the hair furrow, earplugs, circular form of settlement, and log racing. Whenever I told them about some strange people they invariably questioned me as to the occurrence of these traits in order to determine whether I was speaking of congeners or aliens.

All non-Timbira were presumably once put into the category of kupẽ, a term now restricted to Neobraziliians, but formerly extended to Indians also, as appears from its application to the legendary foreign tribes of old.

So far as they are acquainted with one another, all the fifteen tribes listed above treat one another as members of one people, while this does not hold for their attitude toward the Guajajára, Tembé, Urubú, Gamella tribes, Karayá, and Akwẽ. When asked for a term to cover the totality of their own ethnic unit, the Indians are perplexed and finally either fail to answer or furnish one of the following three appellations: mehĩ (mehe, mehẽ); tayé (tayẽ', tãyĩ'); and mekra.

Of these, the first is more frequent, Fróes Abreu considering mehim and Pompeu Sobrinho mehime as the Rąmkö'kamekra and Apą'nyekra designation for themselves, while I conceived mehĩ as that of the Timbira of Araparytíua.[illegible] The term further figures in my lists as follows:

Krẽyé: mẽhĩ', body.
Pųkóbye: mehẽ, people.
Kre'pų'mkateye: mehe, people.
Apą'nyekra: mehĩ', Indians.
Rąmkö'kamekra: mehĩ', people, Indians.[illegible]
Apinayé: pa'hi, people, Indians.

At all events the term is of quite generic significance, not restricted to the Timbira, let alone to a specific tribe of the branch, as I at first had assumed. According to my present knowledge, I incline to interpret the word as approximately signifying "person."

I committed a corresponding error in interpreting tayẽ' as the Bacabal Krẽyé word for this tribe itself,[illegible] though my list registers: tãyẽ', Indian; tãyĩ, people. Among the Kre'pų'mkateye and Rąmkö'kamekra I have recorded tayí, tayẽ' for "people." Pompeu Sobrinho[illegible] assumes itáiê as the pronoun of the second person plural. I would at present render it as possibly equivalent to "comrade," perhaps actually as "fellow member of my people." It seems to be used mainly as a vocative.

Mekra, as already explained, signifies "people, tribe"; at least in the formation of tribal names it is applied only to Timbira groups.

All these designations occur solely among the Eastern Timbira. The Apinayé, who are thoroughly imbued with the sense of kinship with the remainder of the branch, gave me for the Timbira people in its totality the word mãkraya, which

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[illegible] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 101. Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 81. Nimuendajú, Vokabular der Timbiras.

[illegible] Snethlage has: mamhim, people; panjín, Indians.

[illegible] Vokabular und Sagen, 630.

[illegible] *Op. cit.*, 24.

they otherwise use for the Krīkatí. The extension is explained by the Apinayé tra-
101 dition which conceives all other Timbira tribes as offshoots of the Krīkatí.[illegible] Lit-
619 erally, the term signifies "ostrich tribe."

[174] A genuine name distinctive of their ethnic unit in its totality is thus lacking among all these tribes, for which reason I have retained the term Timbira.

The neighboring Tanetehára (Tembé-Guajajára) of Tupí stock designate the Timbira as ąwįwa. Fróes Abreu spells it "Awá," but I do not consider the word identical with Guaraní awá (man, Indian), but rather incline to see a connection with awí (different), with the secondary meaning of "false, incorrect."

The preceding chapter has demonstrated the ineffable confusion and uncertainty
101 in the use of tribal names by various authors. As indicated, the same tribe under
114 three synonyms occasionally figures as three separate tribes, even in the same publication. Hence it is worth while bringing order into this chaos by a closer study of the history of each tribe by itself.

Historical Survey of the Several Timbira Tribes

1. The Timbira of Araparytíua

619 The Timbira living on the middle Gurupy at about 3° S. latitude immigrated into
that region from the Pindaré not earlier than the second half of the last century.
175 Initially they seem to have formed part of Ribeiro's "Timbira do Baixo Mearim,"
167 to whom he assigns as their true habitat in 1819 the region west of the Pindaré.[illegible]
721 But they had evidently not been living there very long, for the Jesuits who resided along this river in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries make no mention of them, referring only to the Guajajára and Amanayé.

In 1820 Pereira do Lago knows of some Timbira a short distance west of Monção, along Lakes Acará, Acaryuassú, and Jacaréuassú; at that time they were only to a slight degree hostile.[illegible] But as late as 1855 we learn of the order to found an aldeamento in Capivary because of the frequent attacks of the Timbira on the farmers of the Vianna municipio. The tradition of the descendants of Gamella now resident there actually confirms the presence of Timbira among the Indians of Capivary at approximately that period.[illegible] Possibly there is some connection between this attempt to settle the Timbira among the Gamella and the migration toward the Gurupy.

[161] In 1862 Governor Araujo Brusque reports two Timbira bands on the Gurupy as
having emigrated many years ago from Maranhão. Numbering 100 to 150, they
[361] were said to dwell on the Pitinga, a western tributary of the Uruahim, and at Anajatiua; to roam about without fixed habitations; and to have previously been in constant warfare with the Tembé.

On the Gurupy the Timbira, as well as other tribes, came under the official superintendence of that notorious exploiter of Indians, Polycarpo José Tavares, of whom it is still said that Heaven paralyzed both his hands in punishment for his misdeeds. Rebelling against their tormentor at the beginning of the 'eighties, the Timbira returned to the Pindaré under the leadership of their chief Marayú. After his death they reappeared on the Gurupy in 1889, at first living at Pedro de Amolar, where they were afflicted with the measles, whereupon they moved very close to the Tembé village of Praia Grande, attaching themselves to the Neobrazilian family Ayres Pereira. When this family moved downstream to Bôa Vista, part of the Timbira

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 169.
[illegible] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 25.
[illegible] Itinerario, 113, 114.
[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 11.

619 accompanied them, founding near by the aldea of Peleguim under the chief Francisco.
175 Others remained near Praia Grande under the leadership of a fugitive from
167 justice named Marciano.

In 1900 these Timbira were reinforced by some twenty new migrants from the
721 Pindaré. In that area chief Karinẽ's band, which lived along the Riacho Gallego, had been exterminated by the Guajajára, who were aided by a rubber-gathering expedition. The survivors, led by chief Manoel Piruna, fled to their tribesmen on the Gurupy.

In 1903 the Urubú attacked and killed several members of an encampment of these Timbira on a western affluent of the Gurupy-una, where they were gathering capahi oil. In 1906 the aldea of Peleguim reunited with that of Praia Grande. A new epidemic of measles claimed its victims, among them the "chief" Marciano, whereupon the survivors once more joined the Ayres Pereira family, which after being ousted from Bôa Vista by the Urubú had resettled upstream at the mouth of the Araparytiua.

619 During a six months' stay on the upper Gurupy in 1914 and 1915 I encountered
161 this group several times. They were by then reduced to a population of 41, but in
191 contrast to the Tembé had remained comparatively pure. They were peaceable,
177 trusting, and loyal. Most of the men, but only a few of the women, spoke some
Portuguese; however, in consequence of their proximity to the Tembé of Praia
Grande, nearly all spoke likewise the Tupí dialect of that tribe. Among themselves
[115] they conversed exclusively in their rough, guttural Timbira tongue; the chief, Pedro
Čumeré, dictated to me a list of sixty-two words, for the most part reproduced in my Vokabular der Timbiras von Maranhão und Pará.

619 Even in their own settlement—a bare hundred paces from the Ayres Pereira
177 household—they wore more or less clothing and had abandoned the ancient mode of dressing the hair. Only the older men still had extended ears, but removal of eyebrows and lashes was still a general practice. Bows and arrows were used only to shoot fish, having been superseded by firearms in the chase.

A year before my arrival they had celebrated an old-style festival, with racing logs and masks. Of these I was able to view the remains: cylindrical headdresses with two long horns and a feather mosaic; their term ku' uxį'd corresponds to the Rąmkõ'kamekra kõkrį't.[illegible] It had been the very last festival of the kind, for the only elder capable of conducting it had died since the performance.

At the time of my visit the Timbira had unfortunately given up farming, to which
[241] they had begun to devote themselves, in order to gather capahi oil, hire themselves
619 out as river boatmen, or otherwise enter the service of the rubber gatherers, a mode
178 of life bound to lead to economic and social ruin. Nevertheless they maintained
161 their population for some years to come, for the census of 1919 sets their number
at 43. Today, after their transfer by the Serviço to the Tembé station (Felippe Camarão), at the mouth of the Jararaca, there are said to be only a few survivors.

I could not ascertain a tribal name for these Timbira, possibly because the bands that emigrated from the Pindaré at different times belonged to different tribes which united only on the Gurupy. In their earlier home on the Pindaré there are no longer any Timbira.

2–3. The Krẽyé of Bacabal; the Kukóekamekra

619 These two tribes, together with the extinct Pobzé, probably correspond to Ribeiro's
101 "Timbiras do Baixo Mearim,"[illegible]—people, he declares, who are called "Guajojaras."

[illegible] It designates a water monster and the society named after it.

[illegible] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 57; Roteiro, 26.

619 In 1818–19 they were roving between the lower Mearim and the Grajahú, remained
721 wholly inaccessible, and by their incursions greatly damaged the property of settlers
166 as far as Cantanhede, down the Itapicurú. Southward they roamed almost to
175 the vicinity of the present Barra do Corda in order to visit the great arrow-reed
stands at the Caxoeira da Canna braba of the Mearim, where they occasionally had
hostile encounters with the Rąmkō'kamekra and Čą'kamekra.

Since 1850, but especially since 1853,[illegible] the Krẽyé and Pobzé began to present
619 themselves peaceably in considerable numbers before the settlers at Bacabal on
175 the Mearim, so that the government had the colony Leopoldina established for them.
161 Allegedly in that year it held 500 men fit to bear arms, an obvious exaggeration,
for the total Indian population to be settled in the two colonies of Carú (Guajajára)
and Leopoldina was estimated at only 2000. As early as 1855 a fever epidemic
afflicted the colony, carrying off many and driving others to flee back to the woods.
In Marques' time, which so far as his records go does not extend later than 1862,
a count in Leopoldina still yielded 336 Indians: 158 "Timbira" (= Kukóekamekra);
87 Cremzés (= Krẽyé); and 91 Pobzé. This is the last mention I can find of the
Pobzé.

619 In 1913 I met one of these Krẽyé in São Luiz and secured from him a word list
101 and several traditional stories. The census of 1919 mentions two settlements:
161 Cajueiro with 43 Crangés (= Krẽyé); and Santo Antonio with 30 Timbira (= Kukóekamekra).
They are still situated in close proximity to each other in the forest
region west of Bacabal between the Mearim and Grajahú, nearer to the latter. The
Pobzé seem to be wholly extinct.

619 The word Krẽyé is derived from krẽre (dwarf parrot); while Kukóekamekra is
197 traceable to kukóe (monkey [*Cebus* sp.]). The speech of the two minute tribal
remnants is said to present no differences.

4. The Krẽyé of Cajuapára

619 The Krẽyé of Cajuapára, nowadays simply known as Timbira among Neobrazilians,
181 are not by any means a band of seceders from the Bacabal tribe of that name, but
197 a quite distinct Timbira tribe that merely happens to share the same designation.
This separateness extends even to speech: while the Bacabal dialect greatly resembles
that of the Timbira of Araparytíua, the Krẽyé of Cajuapára are linguistically
closest to the Kre' pą'mkateye and Pųkóbye. The Cajuapára call themselves
Krẽyé, but are known to neighboring tribes as Pịhą'kamekra (pihą', weaverbird
[*Cassicus* sp.]), which Neobrazilians have transmuted into Piocamecrans, Pivócamecras,
and Pivocas.[illegible] The Amaneyé, of the Tupí linguistic stock, also speak of
them as Pihó.

619 Their earlier habitat was on the Embira Branca, a sizable brook that empties into
175 the Tocantins a little below Imperatriz.

[131] In 1848 the Carmelite Brother Manoel Procopio took over the missionary work
in the military colony of Santa Thereza (now Imperatriz), which had been recently
[161] founded by the authorities of Pará. At that time there were two Gragé Indian
aldeas near by, one a quarter of a mile from the post and the other a mile beyond
the woods, with a joint population of over 200.[illegible]

In 1851 the missionary moved to São João do Araguaya, but since his efforts

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[illegible] Marques, Apontamentos, "Colonisação." Sotero dos Reis, Machado, 619.

[illegible] Cazal, Chorographia, 1:293. Marques, Apontamentos, "Carolina." Moura, De Belém a S. João, 281. This last author erroneously locates the tribe on the Rio do Somno.

[illegible] Marques, Apontamentos, "Santa Thereza."

619 among the Apinayé proved a failure, he soon returned, subsequently conducting
175 the Santa Thereza mission for a number of years.[41]

In 1859 Ferreira Gomes[42] visited a settlement of the Krẽyé, whom he oddly designated
[261] as "Carajás." It was situated near Imperatriz and had from 50 to 60 inhabitants,
who were ill nourished and very poorly off.

A tribal list of 1861 by Marques registers wild and tame Pivócas in the company
of Coroados (?) at the Pindaré headwaters; wild, as well as some tame, Pivócasmeeras
in villages near the Tocantins; and wild and tame Gregês between the Rio
114 Capim and Santa Thereza. It is true that his list is not very trustworthy, for among
174 other blunders it cites the Amanayé under three distinct names as so many separate
tribes; and the distinction between Pivóca and Pivócasmeeras is nonsensical. Nevertheless
his records seem to indicate that part of the tribe had already retired from
the Tocantins back into the interior, though hardly to the Pindaré headwaters, the
frontier from time immemorial of their enemies, the Krīkatí. More probably they
proceeded to the district where they were still met in later years, viz. that of the
Rio Gurupy headwaters.

175 At the time of Dodt's survey of the Rio Gurupy in 1872 the "Carajés" were dwelling
361 by the eastern fork of the Cajuapára headwaters in a village of 400–500 inhabitants.
161 For their emigration from the Tocantins region they gave the following
619 explanation: During the men's absence from the village on one occasion several
sertão dwellers attacked it, abducting a number of Indian children. Then the
Indians burnt down a neighboring fazenda, killing seven of the people there, and
from fear of Neobrazilian revenge fled into the woods of the Gurupy region.[43]

During my stay on the Gurupy (1914–15) the Krẽyé were still living there. Their
village, named Bacaba, had about 100 inhabitants in tolerable circumstances, being
in a better state of preservation than the Timbira of Araparytíua. With the aid of
[115] their chief, who bore the Tembé name Arapuhá, I took down a small word list. The
census of 1919 still credits the tribe with 65 souls. Not long after this the Serviço
de Protecção aos Indios transferred it to Felippe Camarão at the mouth of the
Jararaca, where there are at present only a few survivors.

5. The Krīkatí

101 Krīkatí means "big village"; it is the name by which the tribe is known not only
173 among fellow Timbira, but even among the Northern Kayapó.[44] The Neobrazilians
619 have transmogrified it into the name Caracaty, while the tribe generally calls itself
Krīkateyē (those of the village). Both appellations refer to the ancient tradition
of a single large village once jointly inhabited by all the Timbira. The killing of
a tame ostrich is supposed to have precipitated a bloody feud, whereupon the majority
departed in separate groups, betaking themselves in different directions and
forming new tribes. Only the present Krīkateyē remained in the old settlement.
It is with reference to this tradition that the Apinayé call this people Mą̃kraya
(ostrich tribe), while it figures among the Kre'pų'mkateye, Rąmkō'kamekra, and
Apą'nyekra as Pẽnykōkateye (those of the mangaba water [pẽny, mangaba, i.e.,
Hancornia sp.; kō, water]). The Neobrazilians have frequently confused the tribe
with the Pųkóbye, dubbing both of them Gaviões (falcons).

131 Since their first appearance, which to be sure does not date back a century, until
175 their extinction as an independent people in 1930, the Krīkatí had never left their
619 ancient habitat east of the Tocantins, where this river gradually changes its south-

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[41] See Aguiar, etc.

[42] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 194–195.

[43] Dodt, Descripção, 121.

[44] Nimuendajú, Idiomas Indígenas, 561.

131 north course into an east-west direction, that is, east of Imperatriz, in the interior.
175 There they were already dwelling in 1844, when Castelnau noted them as danger-
619 ous. He was told that the Gaviões imperiled travel on the right bank of the Tocantins from São João do Araguaya to Bôa Vista, and the Caracati from this point on upstream.[illegible] This probably allots too extensive a range to the Gaviões.

After the establishment of the military colony of Santa Thereza in 1848 the tribe seems to have had brief intercourse with the missionary stationed there, Brother Manoel Procopio.[illegible] The report for 1849 designates these Indians as "ponco familiarizados" (little accustomed to intercourse); and in 1852 Brother Procopio is credited with a vain attempt to make the Caracatigés and Gavioẽs settle down at Campo do Frade, north of Imperatriz. Toward the end of 1853 there are said to
[161] have come down to Santa Thereza 300 Indians, and in 1854 the number of Caracatis there is given as 302.[illegible] But in the following year the mission was already in complete decadence,[illegible] in consequence whereof it disappears from later official reports. In the subsequent years we hear at most about Gaviões, a term that may have embraced Pųkóbye *and* Krĩkatí.

114 Strangely enough, Ehrenreich regards the Gaviões *or* Carakati as directly affili-
101 ated with the Northern Kayapó and seems to assume erroneously that they lived
619 mainly to the west of the Tocantins, for he declares that they occasionally crossed the Tocantins below the Tacayunas confluence over to the right (east) bank. On his map the Gaviões *or* Carakati are placed on both sides of the Tocantins.[illegible]

175 The census of 1919 lists two Caracaty villages, Engenho Velho with 69 and
161 Canto da Aldea with 204 inhabitants. A third settlement that was still in existence then, at Caldeirão, is not mentioned or possibly is included under Canto da Aldea.
619 But when I visited the tribe in the following year, I found only a remnant of 80 souls at Canto da Aldea, at the extreme source of the Pindaré. Here these Indians were living impoverished and in a very sad plight from the pressure of near-by fazendeiros, who had usurped the whole tribal domain, leaving to the aborigines the choice between abandonment of their last settlement and being massacred. Even in the previous year, owing to a conflict with the wealthiest and greediest fazendeiro, one Salomão Barros, the villagers of the two other aldeas had scattered and re-
648 treated to the Pųkóbye. Only the arrival from Barra do Corda of the Indian agent,
619 Marcellino Miranda, had prevented the general massacre plotted by the fazen-
175 deiros. At that time he had vainly tried to transfer the Krĩkatí from Canto da Aldea to some secure place of refuge, but they obstinately insisted on their rights, demanding the exodus of the fazendeiros if these objected to the proximity of the Indians.

In 1930 the situation came to a head. Pressed by the fazendeiros, the president of Maranhão, Magalhães de Almeida, informed the agent that unless they consented to depart he would have the Krĩkatí forcibly removed by the constabulary. Once more the agent tried to transfer them to the Rio Ourives near Barra do Corda, but this merely led to a breaking up of this last independent remnant of the tribe. Having vainly begged the Apinayé and the Apą'nyekra to harbor them, the Krĩkatí scattered in all directions. I do not know where the survivors may be hidden now-
619 adays, but probably they have ceased to exist as a distinct tribe.

197 The Krĩkatí dialect completely coincides with that of the Pųkóbye.

[illegible] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:11, 17, 18.

[illegible] J. F. Coelho, Falla, 76. Aguiar, Relatorio, 53. J. J. Cunha, Falla, 1852, 82.

[illegible] Rego Barros, Falla, Annexo, 56.

[illegible] Frias Vasconcellos, 59.

[illegible] Ehrenreich, Beiträge, 149; *idem.*, Die Einteilung und Verbreitung.

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6. The Pųkóbye

619 101 131 The Pųkóbye (= Piocobgês, Paicogês), the most warlike of all the Timbira, occupied the region east and northeast of the Krĩkatí, beyond the upper Rio Grajahú and more particularly the district watered by its western affluent, the Sant' Anna. The Neobrazilians nowadays generally call them Gaviões; their Timbira designation is derived from pųkóp or pọkóbo, a species of *Dioscorea*—among the Põrekamekra Pohl heard the form Bukobuji. The Krĩkatí, Kre'pų'mkateye, and occasionally the Rạmkõ'kamekra call them Põpéykateye (those on the beautiful [or: true] steppe), as explained above (p. 1).

[361] 721 In Ribeiro's day they had five large villages, but possibly the Krĩkatí were included in the count. At all events they were sufficiently strong and warlike to defeat all the bandeiras dispatched against them.

175 619 In 1804 they compelled Francisco Alves dos Santos' bandeira to set at liberty the prisoners taken in their first attack and the bandeira itself to seek safety in precipitate flight. Ten years later they destroyed Manoel de Assumpçao's bandeira, a single wounded man escaping out of a company of forty. According to one account this defeat occurred on June 28, 1813, and there were eighty-six dead. What I myself heard was that the massacre took place in a defile when the bandeira tried to storm the Serra da Desordem, to which the Pųkóbye had retired, from its east tip. This Serra is not a range of several hundred kilometers, as the maps would lead one to suppose, but one of the many isolated steep knolls rising somewhat north of the road between Grajahú and Porto Franco from the Tocantins watershed, which now and then is barely perceptible.

Not long after this event the Pųkóbye (in 1814 according to Ribeiro; according to Carlota Carvalho in 1813) attacked the settlement of Porto da Chada, then only three years old, at the site of what is now Grajahú. They burned both the houses and the boats in the harbor; thirty-eight persons perished in this onslaught. A punitive expedition composed of bandeiras from São Pedro de Alcantara and Pastos Bons was ignominiously repelled.

619 648 175 131 161 In 1849 the Gaviões are characterized as "ferozes e traiçoeiros" (wild and treacherous), but about the middle of the century they began permanently peaceable relations with the neighboring Neobrazilians. In 1851 they and the Caracteges were put under the same directoria, which comprised the region of the Grajahú from Tapero Leopoldina at 4° 50′ S. latitude to Villa da Chapada (= Grajahú). Their number was then set at 1000.

[114] In 1858 there are listed fourteen peaceable villages, one of them credited with 1000 inhabitants, including 600 warriors (*sic*), and a chief who styled himself "governador." Another is said to have 800 people, including 350 able to bear arms, under the chief Belizario. Two others had a population of 600 each. In addition there were said to be numerous others in a wild state [the Western Gaviões]. Even assuming that these figures comprise the Krĩkatí as well, I find them incredible and have still less faith in the "over 6000" Gaviões reported in a tribal list of 1861.

According to tradition the governador until his death at the beginning of the 'seventies admonished his people to remain at peace and prevented cattle lifting. He further ceded to the Neobrazilians diverse strips of land in return for meager compensation. The site of his erstwhile village, not far from the present Pųkóbye settlement of São Felix, still bears his name.

Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 62–64, 79; Roteiro, 27, 46; Descripção, 70.

Carlota Carvalho, O Sertão, 43–45.

J. F. Coelho, 76.

Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios." Aguiar, 53.

619 The tables have turned by now. Reduced in numbers and robbed of their territory,
178 the Pųkóbye survivors have sunk almost to the same untenable position as
167 the Kríkatí in the period of their destruction. Over them, too, the Damocles' sword
of a massacre by Grajahú fazendeiros is constantly suspended. For a long time they
have been ousted from their tracts along the Rio Sant' Anna (once named R. Pio-cobgê,
after them) and pushed toward the edge of the tropical forest region of the
Pindaré. For a long time they inhabited an aldea on the Morro do Chapeu, east
of the upper Pindaré. The census of 1919 credits this village with 52 inhabitants,
who are wrongly registered as "Canellas." The figure may be too low for that period,
but confirms my informants' statements, that the true Pųkóbye have dwindled to
[162] very inconsiderable numbers, the majority of the people now inhabiting Pųkóbye
settlements being members of other tribes, notably Kríkatí refugees.

In 1929, when I visited these Indians, they occupied the aldeas of São Felix
619 and Recurso, situated at a distance of sixteen kilometers from each other, somewhat
161 north and south of Morro do Chapeu. They harbored possibly 150 and 120 inhabitants,
respectively. In São Felix, more particularly, there were many Kríkatí from
162 the settlements broken up in the previous year. In Recurso I heard about remnants
of an unidentifiable Timbira group, the Kõtų'krekateye (those of the little black
creek), who are said to have once lived somewhere between the upper Grajahú and
Mearim; suspected of participation in the Guajajára rebellion of 1901, they had
fled to the Pųkóbye.

In 1924 Snethlage recorded one hundred and thirty Pųkóbye words in Barra do Corda;[34] five years later in São Felix I took down two hundred and thirty.

7. The Western Gaviões

619 Somewhat below the Araguaya confluence the Tocantins bends northward from its
101 east-west course. The forests in the angle thus formed are now inhabited by an
173 Indian tribe that according to the tradition of the Pųkóbye of the Grajahú steppes
seceded from them a long time ago, betaking itself to the woods. As a matter of fact
the Neobrazilians designate both groups as Gaviões without recognizing any differences
between them.

619 The earlier reports on the region in question register solely a "Jacundá tribe,"
175 which, however, does not seem to have been of the Timbira branch. The first to mention
101 it is Villa Real[35] in 1793. At that time they were living on the Guayapi and
Jacundá, eastern tributaries of the Tocantins in the region of the Itaboca rapids.
Their chiefs were Uoriniuera and Claxira, of which names the former, unlike the
[114] second, is definitely Tupí. Notwithstanding the lack of all linguistic evidence Martius
and Ehrenreich class the group as Tupí; the latter also erroneously places it on
the west side of the Tocantins. The people are described as light skinned and amiable.[36]
Ribeiro mentions them in 1819, Castelnau in 1844.[37] In 1849 they are still
registered among the tribes within the domain of Santa Thereza mission, and in
1850 Ayres Carneiro met them on the Praia Ambauá, somewhat above what is now
619 Alcobaça.[38] This is their last appearance in history, and in 1859 the Gaviões for the
175 first time figure in their place.[39] At that period they were hostile to all other tribes,
221 likewise avoiding relations with civilized people whenever they encountered them

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[34] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 187 f.

[35] Villa Real, Viagem, 425 f., 432.

[36] Marques, Apontamentos, "Tocantins."

[37] Ribeiro, Memoria, Nota 51. Castelnau, Histoire, 2:117.

[38] J. F. Coelho, 76. Carneiro, Itinerario, 25.

[39] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 496.

619 on the Tocantins, whose banks the Indians visited in summer in quest of tortoises
175 and their eggs. Express statements deny that they were then in the habit of attack-
221 ing civilized travelers.

The split into Eastern (Grajahú steppes) and Western Gaviões may date back
619 to the closer intercourse with whites that set in after 1850. The section of the tribe that did not trust the peace overtures or spurned them on principle may then have
174 retreated into the primeval forest in order to escape from civilization.

721 Subsequently the invasions of rubber collectors and later of the chestnut gatherers as well led to bloody encounters, whence the reputation of the Gaviões for great savagery. Especially in the little town of Marabá, the center of the rubber and chestnut traders, lying directly at the edge of the Gaviões region, at the Tacayuna confluence, people are constantly clamoring for the extermination of the tribe, justifying it with such descriptions as Simões da Silva in complete innocence presented to the Americanists' Congress in New York.[*]

In reality the Gaviões are by no means the bloodthirsty, predatory beasts portrayed by the pathological hatred of profit-greedy chestnut traders. Again and again they have tried—even after bloody punitive expeditions—to live at peace with the Neobrazilians on the Tocantins. But every manifestation of amiability was immediately followed by an invasion of the interior, which soon led to the killing of this or that intruder. Then there was a terrific hue and cry about "treachery," the incident was cited to prove the impossibility of peace with the Gaviões, and the Government was urged to shoot them down so as to throw open
619 "the fabulous wealth" of their region "in the interest of the state." And the former
648 government of the state of Pará, the very one that erected a monument to the
178 Indian race in the Praça Brazil of the capital, actually took such measures some years ago.

The easily intelligible desire of the Gaviões is simply to live in peace with the Neobrazilians, without being crowded out of their villages.

In 1895 these Indians made a treaty of peace with Raymundo Liart at Bocca do Tauiry, somewhat below Marabá, and three of them visited Pará.[*] About 1912 they were in peaceable relations with Manoel da Matta in the same locality. For a number of years they have been maintaining friendly relations with a certain José Messias in Mãe Maria, somewhat below the mouth of the Araguaya, and permit him to exploit the stands of chestnut trees there. Basing their expectations on these amicable relations, which depend solely on that man's individuality, the chestnut gatherers have formed a whole village in that locality, and are constantly advancing in spite of José Messias' attempts to control them. As a matter of fact, one of them has already had an arrow shot at him. In consequence the police commissioner of Marabá, who had a short time previously shot to pieces a village of the Šikrĩ Kayapó in the Tacayunas region, immediately asked the state government for additional firearms and ammunition so as to be able to extend the same tactics to the Gaviões. However, the punitive expedition never encountered any Indians—presumably because its leader was the above-mentioned José Messias, who did not in the least approve of the maneuver contemplated.

In 1937 the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios established a post with federal troops farther downstream, at the Ipixuna confluence, and according to the last reports
619 the Gaviões have put in a peaceable appearance there.

721 Obviously since the destruction or expulsion of the Jacundá the Gaviões have

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[*] Simões da Silva, 747–750.

[*] Moura, De Belém a S. João, 200, 223–236.

619 721 constantly pushed northward. During my first stay in Alcobaça (1926) I already heard of hostile Indians in the vicinity of the Caxoeira dos Guaribas (4° S. latitude), but those I saw at the time at Mundurucú, somewhat below these falls, belonged to the Amanayé tribe (of Tupí stock) and had come from the Mojú. In February 1930, when I once more ascended the Tocantins, a new attack had occurred precisely at these rapids, on the Ribeirão Pitinga. The arrows gathered from the site were indistinguishable from the Gaviões type.

619 131 361 However, the present headquarters of the tribe are placed in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Jacundá. This rivulet, not to be confounded with its namesake near the Caxoeira Itaboca, flows from the north emptying into the Tocantins a mile downstream from São João do Araguaya. Upstream they still range along the east bank of the Tocantins about as far as Cocal, three miles beyond the mouth of the Araguaya; in the interior they are said to extend somewhat farther to the east. Their camps have been encountered on the headwaters of the Rio Mojú, which extend much farther south—beyond 4° S. latitude—than the maps indicate. Moreover, the plantations of the Amanayé on the Ararandéua (the western source of the Capim) have been invaded by natives who, judging from the arrows discharged, could only have been Gaviões. Oddly enough, the victimized Tupí tribe calls them Warayú, a name already connected with this area on Father Samuel Fric's map of 1695. The Akwẽ designate all alien tribes as Worazu.

114 101 619 I have never heard of any Gaviões invasion of the region about the forked sources of the Gurupy, a district partly unsettled, partly occupied by the Krẽyé and the Tembé (Tupí). Prior to their migration into the Capim area, the Amanayé used to live on the east fork (the Cajuapára) and later on the middle fork (the Tucumandí). Snethlage is misinformed in speaking of wild Gaviões *or* Urubú in the region of the Gurupy headwaters and in identifying these people with the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and the Timbira of Araparytíua, whom I myself had once erroneously designated as Mehĩ.[illegible] The habitat of the Urubú, whom Snethlage correctly classes as Tupí in connection with their attack on Redondo on the Maracassumé,[illegible] lies between the Gurupy and the Pindaré; they have never gone beyond the Gurupy-Mirim confluence, 3° 40′ S. latitude. Thus, the Gaviões and Urubú were not even immediate neighbors, for they were separated along the Gurupy by the main body of Tembé in ten villages (1914).

619 197 171 Except for a few words, inadequately enough recorded by Moura in 1896 and by Manoel da Matta in 1912, nothing is known about the language of the Western Gaviões. In many respects they seem to differ from the Pųkóbye of the Grajahú steppe. Whether they actually perforate the lower lip, as some allege, has not been definitely determined. On the other hand, though they do pierce the lobe of the ear, they certainly do not wear the large earplugs of the Pųkóbye and other Timbira, nor do they cut their hair so as to produce the characteristically Timbira furrow. In their woods the above-mentioned unsuccessful punitive expedition saw wide, straight streets, which suggest the universal Timbira practice of log racing. There has likewise been found a girdle with rattling tapir hoofs of the type worn by the other tribes in their races.

619 177 The Western Gaviões are the only Timbira still living free and unconfined. Their investigation would be of extraordinary significance for the illumination of Timbira culture, but could only become possible by a lucky fluke, for no one knows when or where they will get to the river bank, and to search for them in the interior

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[illegible] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 114, 142.

[illegible] *Idem.*, Meine Reise, 113.

619 177 is impracticable. During six trips along the entire range of their territory on the Tocantins I have never seen a single member of the tribe.

8. The Kre'pụ'mkateye

619 101 This name I have never been able to grasp fully either as to its meaning or its phonetics. From the lips of the Rạmkō'kamekra I recorded it as in the heading of this section; *in situ* I heard it as Krẹ̄' pụ'mkateye or Kreapụ'mkateye. Which is correct, I cannot decide because the composition of the word is obscure. Formally it is a locative designating, according to the Indians themselves, a body of water known to Neobrazilians as Lago Comprido (Long Lake). In any event it is not a literal translation of the Neobrazilian term, but possibly the lake is actually called kre' pụ'm (or similarly) in the Indian tongue. Possibly the Rạmkō'kamekra interpretation holds, viz. that the name denotes a locality where ostriches lay (pum) eggs (kre).

619 175 The designation must be relatively recent, for in the literature it is wholly lacking, and the Neobrazilians nowadays merely refer to this tribe as Timbira. Possibly they are descendants of the old Caracategé (= Cannacategé? = Karēkateye?), whose name persists in the name of a district on the east bank of the Grajahú, just upstream from the present habitat of the Kre' pụ'mkateye. In 1851 these Caracategé are certainly still mentioned as living on the Grajahú.[illegible] Tradition has it that the first Neobrazilians descending the Grajahú (1811) were attacked by Timbira in the immediate vicinity of this locality, since known as Desordem.

Wells briefly mentions the tribe several times, reporting the attempt made in 1863 by the chief Curaxé to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Neobrazilians.[illegible] On his map the Itambeiras are entered on the left Grajahú bank, between Marajar (= Marajá) and Caracatigy (Caracategé).

[721] [115] During the Guajajára uprising of 1901 these Timbira alone of all the Grajahú residents not only failed to flee from the rebels, but at the instigation of the local authorities attacked the Guajajára with a handful of warriors, cruelly destroying two populous villages. Their old squinting chief, Major Clementino, told me in 1929 how he had personally slain the Guajajára leader.

619 161 The 1919 census of the Serviço do Protecção aos Indios sets the number of Kre' pụ'mkateye of Terra Nova, just below the fazenda Independencia, at only 47; this, like many other figures of that census, seems too low. In 1924 Snethlage visited the tribe in their village, then just above Independencia, where they were living with several Guajajára; he estimated the villagers at from 150 to 200.

619 131 177 In 1929 I spent six days with this people in their settlement at Gamelleira do Rumo, ten kilometers farther downstream. They were living in dependence on the proprietor of the fazenda Independencia, and though really not ill-treated they were evidently in a state of decline. At least on the Grajahú, even on the site of their hamlet, they could no longer call a span of land their own.

197 Of their dialect, which differs quite inconsiderably from that of the Krīkatí and Pụkóbye, I recorded two hundred and sixty-nine words on that occasion.

9. The Krahō'

619 101 This name signifies "hair of the paca" (*Coelogenys paca*); it might just as well be interpreted as "burity leaf," but the Indians expressly told me that the term bore the former meaning. It is the tribal name in their own language, as well as that in vogue among other Timbira and Neobrazilians.

[illegible] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios."

[illegible] Wells, Exploring, 2:284, 285, 277–278.

619 101 Martius gives as synonyms: Grajahús, Guajajáras, and Pepuxis.[66] However, Grajahú is the name of a river, not of a tribe; it is derived from karayá (howling monkey) and į (water). Guajajára designates the well-known Tupí tribe, never known to have lived even near the Krahō'. As for Pepuxi, that term will be discussed presently.

619 101 114 The Akwẽ-Šerénte, their southern neighbors, call the Krahō' by the name Worazúrié (small alien people). Ribeiro at first speaks of them only as Caraús or Carãous[67] and wonders why "a certain person" (he means Pinto de Magalhães, the founder of São Pedro de Alcantara) had called them Maquemecrans. But later he himself invariably used the form Macamecrans, saying that on the Tocantins they were known as Pepuxis and Tamemboa. However, his earliest paper reckons the Pepuxis and Caraús as distinct tribes of the Tocantins, while elsewhere he cites the Timbira Caraoús as a branch of the Pepuxis.

Ignoring the term Macamecrans for the present, we shall devote ourselves to clearing up the confusion concerning the terms Tamembó and Pepuxi. The first chronicler (1812) who mentions the Capepuxis and Temimbós, but not the Krahō' is Silva e Souza.[68] He places the indolent and predatory Capepuxis in two villages "do Araguaya" (meaning "do Tocantins"), assigning to the peaceable Temimbós five villages near Pastos Bons. His Capepuxi are thus probably identical with the Krahō'. His Temimbo must designate the Amanayé, though they occupied a single village, one legua from Pastos Bons, where they numbered in 1815 some 20 souls. Cazal, too, equates Temembó and Manajó.[69]

As indicated, Ribeiro, otherwise highly reliable, is full of contradictions on this point. His contemporary, Pohl, who himself visited the Krahō', registers Timembó as a synonym for Krahō', while he identifies the Irieosche, an otherwise unrecorded people living near the Pōrekamekra, with the Capepuxi.[70]

In 1824 Cunha Mattos mentions the Pepuxy or Temembó as on the left bank of the Tocantins below São Pedro de Alcantara, adding the Krahō' as a distinct tribe. Elsewhere he states that the Puxiti (Timbira pų̨čē'ti = Šavánte), Petuxi (?), Pepuxi, or Temembó were living from the Manoel Alves to the Caxoeira das Tres Barras and were of the same tribe as the Macamecrans (= Krahō'), but immediately thereafter he lists this last group as a separate tribe.[71]

Rivet, and after him, Snethlage, not only adopted Cazal's identification of the Temembó with the Tupí Manajó (= Amanayé), but went so far as to further identify them with the Timbira Aponegicran (= Apą'nyekra) and to list the Krahō' separately. The identity of the Temembó with the Krahō'—as assumed by Ribeiro Magalhães, and Pohl—rests, above all, on the fact that the former name occurs only in the reports of 1812–24, that is, precisely during the period in which the Krahō' appeared on the Tocantins, spreading along both banks in the very region those older sources ascribe to the Temembó. Against this evidence Cunha Mattos' listing of Temembó and Krahō' as separate tribes does not weigh heavily, for this author listed the Apinayé as three distinct tribes under as many synonyms.

On the contrary, the identity of the Pepuxi (or Capepuxi, in Silva e Souza's and Pohl's spelling) with the Krahō' seems highly dubious. Cunha Mattos' Puxiti, recorded as a synonym along with Petuxi and Pepuxi, indicates the name Pų-čē'-ti

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[66] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:286.

[67] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 68, 70–74; Roteiro, 62, Notas K, S, U; Descripção, §§ 55, 59, 69.

[68] Silva e Souza, Memoria, 495, 496.

[69] Cazal, Chorographia, 2:265.

[70] Pohl, Reise, 2:191, 211.

[71] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:386; 38:20.

619 101 114 (large penis sheath), the quite general designation of the Serénte-Šavánte in Timbira speech. Capepuxi probably stands for Kupẽpųčẽ′ (alien tribe of the penis sheath). At that time the Šavánte extended as far as the district assigned to the Capepuxi.

619 131 174 About the original habitat of the Krahõ′, Ribeiro expresses himself rather obscurely. "Ribeira de Balsa" denotes not the river, but the district so called. This, as appears from the text, included primarily the region of the Rio Macapá. Strangely enough, when this author gives as boundaries of the Ribeira da Lapa the rivers Manoel Alves Grande, Sereno, and Balsas, we must not understand thereby the angle south of the Sereno, but the district to the north, since the "Lapa" for which the district was named is situated near the present Riachão. Moreover, the Krahõ′ were neighbors and enemies of the Akwẽ-Šavánte, who according to Ribeiro originally occupied the country northward to the Rio Farinha and beyond the Rio Balsas, including the above-mentioned Ribeira da Lapa. Thus, the Krahõ′ must have dwelt originally in the region of the Neves and Macápa, not as some assume in the southeastern panhandle of the present state of Maranhão.

619 175 721 However, in Ribeira's day they had already been crowded westward from these ancient headquarters into the district between the Farinha and Manoel Alves Grande, of which they dispossessed the Šavánte. Here, too, they were pursued by bandeiras and pushed toward and even beyond the Tocantins. As bitter enemies of the stockbreeders, who had ousted them from their former country, they destroyed the fazenda do Sacco in 1808 and Vargem de Pascoa in the Balsas region in 1809. Thereupon one hundred and fifty volunteers and twenty soldiers victoriously attacked one of their villages, taking seventy prisoners, who were sent to São Luiz. Then the Krahõ′ begged for peace, which was granted on condition that they [161] would abide by the treaty. Their numbers were at that time estimated at 3000.[illegible]

In the following year they commenced friendly relations with the founder of São Pedro de Alcantara (now Carolina), Francisco José Pinto de Magalhães, and definitively moved to the Tocantins.

Pohl's statements might suggest the inference that Magalhães first (in 1808?) made allies of the Põrekamekra on the left bank of the Tocantins, not concluding peace with the Krahõ′ until they had crossed the river and come into armed conflict with the Põrekamekra.[illegible] In this appeasement he is supposed to have been aided by a Krahõ′ mistress. In any case the Krahõ′ henceforth played a double part. On the one hand, in the guise of peaceable Indians, they inflicted on their old enemies, the Eastern fazendeiros, as much damage as possible by stealing cattle and imputing the theft to other tribes. On the other hand, they were Magalhães' faithful allies in all bandeiras against the other Timbira. Naturally, Magalhães represents these expeditions as defensive measures of his own and on the part of the Krahõ′, but from Ribeiro we know that the primary motive was the craving for slaves, Magalhães maintaining a brisk trade in such with Piuhy and beyond the Tocantins as far as Pará. A missionary sent to him by the Goyaz government actively participated in this business. Magalhães was even reported to have sold his one-time mistress, [567] the Krahõ′ girl he had used in his negotiations for peace.[illegible] His best tool in the slave raids was the Krahõ′ chief Apúicrit, who (as Magalhães put it) magnanimously turned over to him all of his own captives. He was subsequently poisoned by his own people.

[illegible] Cf. Pohl, Reise 2:182–207.

[illegible] *Ibid.*, 2:137.

[illegible] Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Sao Pedro de Alcantara.

619 After Magalhães' death the Krahô' constantly retreated farther west and south
before the encroaching fazendeiros. In 1825 Cunha Mattos has them settled in three
175 villages with 200 warriors;[75] they were situated in the strip of São Pedro de Alcan-
361 tara which Goyaz had ceded to Maranhão in 1816. Thence many had moved to the
Ilha de São José, 6° 50', and from there to the mainland opposite. In 1829 the
Krahô', attacked for their misdeeds by the officials of Maranhão, formed a league
[648] with the Apinayé, which sorely troubled the border commandant of Carolina. This
alliance endured until 1923, when animosity arose because of the steps the Apinayé
were taking against a Krahô' sorcerer.

In 1844 Castelnau encountered the Krahô' on the Tocantins and took down a
619 word list.[76] He mistook them for an Apinapé tribe, an inaccuracy matched by Cou-
131 dreau's statement that the Canella and Krahô' had formerly been a single group
114 that did not split up until the period of the chief Major Tito.[77] Castelnau sets the
limits of Krahô' territory on the east bank of the Tocantins between somewhat
below São Pedro de Alcantara and the Ilha dos Campos, 6° 40'. Opposite the upper
end of the Ilha de São José there was on the west bank the aldea of Carolina with
some fifteen houses. Further, this author has two aldeas opposite each other some-
what above the mouth of the Manoel Alves Grande, but mentions only one of them
in his text. Probably, however, the two settlements visited by Castelnau with their
[161] total of eighteen huts and a presumable population of 140 to 150, did not represent
the entire surviving part of the tribe: it seems likely that there were other Krahô'
settlements in the interior.

For a long time the idea had arisen of transferring the Krahô' farther upstream,
619 to the mouth of the Rio do Somno.[78] The plan obviously had a twofold object. First,
175 there was a desire to get rid of the erstwhile allies, whose cattle lifting made them
648 an increasing nuisance; secondly, they were to be pitted against their ancient ene-
mies, the Šavánte-Šerénte, who remained a menace to Carolina. In 1848 the Capu-
164 chin missionary, Brother Rafael Tuggia, achieved this transfer by founding the
mission of Pedro Affonso at the mouth of the Rio do Somno. But he was unable to
retain the Krahô' permanently at that station, where the epidemics of 1849 and
1850 wrought such havoc that by 1852 their population had shrunk to 620.[79] In 1859
they inhabited three villages about four leagues from Pedro Affonso.[80] The influence
619 of the mission on tribal custom seems to have been extraordinarily slight. On the
144 other hand, according to their own tradition, the Krahô' owe their strong mixture
with Negroes to the twenty-seven year long mission period, which lasted until 1875.
Their subsequent chief, Major Tito, who became famous for his wealth and was
later murdered by Neobrazilians, was a Negro breed, as are nearly all of the present
Krahô' chiefs.

115 In 1910 there appeared in the city of Bahia a Timbira with perforated lower lip
who called himself Capitão Luiz, his Indian name being Catome (= Ka'tą'm). He
101 pretended to be the chief of the Krahô' village of Gamelleira on the Rio Preto, in
the extreme northwest corner of the state of Bahia. Theodoro Sampaio tried to
pump him as to the condition of his people, but for reasons of his own the Indian
was very reserved in his statements, though willing to furnish a long word list of
the "Kraô" tongue, which Sampaio published in 1912.

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[75] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 38:20, 286.

[76] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:41, 47, 115. See also his map 25 in the "Itinéraire" and the "Géographie."

[77] Coudreau, Tocantins-Araguaya, 210.

[78] Pohl, Reise, 2:174. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:384.

[79] Tuggia, 122.

[80] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 490.

115 101 In 1913 I met the same Luiz Ka'tą'm in Rio de Janeiro at the chief office of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios and also took down samples of his language. He told me, too, that he was a Krahõ' and was living on the Manoel Alves Pequeño, where the villages of this tribe, including Gamelleira, are actually situated. Today I am certain that he was not a Krahõ', but an Apinayé from Bacaba, as clearly proved by his name, his perforated lower lip, and the vocabulary. His mendacious statements were made in order to establish his citizenship in Bahia, with claims to support from the government of that state. When once known to the outside world as a Krahõ', he deemed it wiser to persist in the pretense in order to guard against the contingency of being recognized by some Bahian in Rio.

The Krahõ' have never lived on the Rio Preto or elsewhere in Bahia. Both Sampaio's and my own vocabulary of 1913 are useless as samples of Krahõ' speech, for both represent pure Apinayé, while (as Martius noted in 1819 when recording his Aponegicran word list) the Krahõ' dialect wholly coincides with that of the Canella.

115 171 114 What little information Luiz Ka'tą'm dropped concerning the customs of his people in speaking with Sampaio either applies exclusively to the Apinayé (burity carrying girdle for children, assistance rendered at rapids) or is incorrect (stone knives, transport of fire in pottery). Sampaio's vocabulary also contains a comical blunder: "soul" (Portuguese alma) = catonço; but katõk actually signifies firearms (Port. arma). Equally unreliable is the localization of Gê tribes on his map.

In 1926 Snethlage met several Krahõ' in Carolina and with their aid took down a list of seventy words. In April and May 1930, when I lived among this tribe, I dispensed with obtaining a special vocabulary because of the manifest identity of Krahõ' with the Rąmkõ'kamekra dialect.

619 131 I was able to ascertain that the tribe, which now lives in the district of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño, between 8° and 9° S. latitude, has two subdivisions, a northern and a southern.

177 The southern group, which bears the name of Mąkamekra (ostrich tribe), had had its village first on the Gamelleira, then on the Donzella, these being brooks tributary to the upper Manoel Alves Pequeño. A short time before my visit, however, the pressure of the near-by fazendeiros had caused a split, each half now living separately under the chiefs Secundo and Bernardino, respectively, around the headwaters of that river. A friend of the Indians long resident in their vicinity, Santo Moreira, tried hard to prop up the tottering community and to defend the last bit of Indian land against the intruding stockbreeders. But the wiles and calumny of his opponents, with whom the despicable chief Secundo was in league, thwarted all his efforts.

619 131 621 The other subdivision, inhabiting the aldeas of Pedra Branca (pl. 1, *a*) and Pedra Furada some fifty kilometers to the north, on right affluents of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño, is called Kenpókateye, that is, those of the flat rock. For the time being two villages of seventeen and sixteen houses, respectively, remain closely knit communities which are still organized up to a certain point in ancient Timbira fashion. To be sure, the Brazilian Baptist missionaries stationed near Pedra Furada are exerting themselves to break up the old organization. They wish to settle the Indians according to the missionaries' notions of a colony, with abolition of log racing, etc. But since the influence of this mission is clearly very slight, the hope remains that these plans, whose realization would signify the beginning of the end for the Krahõ' will not be executed in the immediate future.

619 162 In 1930 the surviving Mąkamekra numbered close to 100; the two Kenpókateye villages may be set at 150 souls each, so that the entire Krahõ' tribe may be estimated at 400.

619 177 In comparison with the Rąmkō'kamekra the Krahō' appear culturally impoverished—a possible result of their repeated wanderings and of their resettlement under Neobrazilian influence.

10. The Pōrekamekra

619 101 114 According to the mutually corroboratory testimony of Ribeiro and the Krahō' the remnants of the Pōrekamekra merged with the Mą̃kamekra horde of the Krahō' over a century ago. Ribeiro identifies them with the Cupinharó, but remarks subsequently that these people, of whom he had learnt in 1800 as steppe dwellers to the west of the Grajahú, either had never existed at all or had been destroyed by the Pōrekamekra and Pųkóbye.[illegible] The tribal name in question, which still figures in the traditions of contemporary Rąmkō'kamekra, is doubtless Timbira kupẽyaró, from kupẽ (alien tribe) and ro (stooping, bent). Thus, the very term proves that it refers to a non-Timbira people, thereby excluding the Pōrekamekra. Martius suggests that they may have been Tupí and explains the name as Cupynuaras (ant men).

In 1722 or 1723 war was waged against the Cupinharós, Guanarés, Barbados, and Anapurús—all of them tribes of the northeast corner of Maranhão, between the Itapicurú and Parnahyba,[illegible] but at the beginning of the nineteenth century the tribe is mentioned solely for the Tocantins region. It is said to have owned an idol (dance mask?) which the commandant of Pastos Bons sent to the governor of Maranhão. According to Martius,[illegible] the tribe was existing "even today" (1819? 1867?) unconfined on the Tocantins, south of São Pedro de Alcantara. In any event, Ribeiro's identification of the Kupẽyaró and the Pōrekamekra is unacceptable.

The only two, almost synchronous, sources on the Pōrekamekra, Pohl (1819) and Ribeiro (who saw them in 1815 and probably also later) are not easily reconciled. According to Pohl, Pinto de Magalhães, after his sudden appearance on the Tocantins in 1808, first made a treaty of peace with this tribe on the west bank, subsequently coming to terms with the Krahō' attackers of the Pōrekamekra. Contrary to Pohl, the Pōrekamekra could not formerly have lived much farther south, for there lay the territory of the Akwẽ-Šavánte. During Magalhães' subsequent stay in Pará, Antonio Moreira's bandeira attacked and massacred the Indians. In 1810 Magalhães returned, assembled the Indians anew, and founded São Pedro de Alcantara, while Placido Carvalho, who had accompanied him from Pará, settled with the Pōrekamekra at Cocal, at the apex of the great westward bend of the Tocantins below Carolina, that is, on the west bank. Pohl seems to indicate that this occurred immediately after Magalhães' return. Nine years later Pohl visited the colony of Cocal, remaining from August 9 to 11, 1819.

According to this author, then, the Pōrekamekra resided on the west side of the Tocantins at least from about 1808 until 1819.

619 175 Ribeiro, certainly far more familiar with the development of the district after his nineteen years' stay than Pohl could have been after a three days' visit, tells the history of this tribe quite differently. He credits the Pōrekamekra originally with two villages between the Pųkóbye (Grajahú region) and the mouth of the Rio
[161] Farinha, that is, on the east bank. After Antonio Moreira's offer of peace to one of the villages in 1814, its 400 to 500 inhabitants (not counting the children), headed by chief Cocrit, appeared in São Pedro de Alcantara, bearing green twigs in token of peace. Several months later they moved their settlement near this town, but their

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[illegible] Ribeiro, Roteiro, § 61; Memoria, § 63.

[illegible] Pereira da Costa, Chronologia, 135.

[illegible] Martius, Beiträge, 1:198.

619 175 chief was captured and the rest were abused to such an extent that part of them joined the Krahõ', while the remainder despondently sought safety in flight.

The second village of the Põrekamekra, as well as that of the equally peaceable "Poncatagê" (Põkateye, those of the steppe; an unidentifiable tribe), was visited by the bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara and the allied Krahõ'. The Indians had fled, but persuaded by promises made to them through Cocrit, 364 of them consented to appear before the bandeira, only to be thrown into fetters amid horrible murders and other deeds of violence. Some were still able to flee, but 164 were captured, 130 of them—the bandeira leader's share—being branded with redhot irons and sold to Pará. Of this occurrence on July 24, 1815, Ribeiro, according to his express statement, was an eyewitness.

619 161 114 It is thus incomprehensible that four years later Pohl should have found 600 to 700 Põrekamekra peaceably residing in Cocal. Possibly he merely saw another group erroneously identified by Carvalho as Põrekamekra. Cunha Mattos, who mentions Cocal as late as 1824, described its residents as Cherente (?).

The tribal name is not derived from "pure," burity leafstalk, as Ribeiro's orthography would suggest, but according to what the Krahõ' explicitly told me, from põre, a small falcon known to the Neobrazilians as caboré.

619 197 Pohl mentions a vocabulary recorded by him and refers readers to his Appendix, but I cannot find it in the two copies of his work accessible to me. Thus, I am acquainted with only the thirty words given by Martius here and there for purposes of comparison.

[181] Nevertheless, it is clear that, as with the neighboring Pųkõbye and Krahõ', the speech represents the southeastern dialect of Timbira. They differed to their advantage in their amicable, peaceable character, stressed by both Ribeiro and Pohl, which reminds one of their northwestern neighbors, the Apinayé.

11–13. The Canella

619 161 Neobrazilians unite the Kénkateye, Apą'nyekra and Rąmkõ'kamekra under the single head of Canellas. These tribes themselves, however, lack a common name for the three groups and recognize no closer affinity among themselves than between any of the three and the Krahõ' or the Čą'kamekra.

619 101 114 In the sertão no other tribes have ever been connected with that appellation. Martius, too, classes as Canellas finas only the Corume- and Capie-Crans (= Rąmkõ'kamekra) and the Aponegi-Crans (= Apą'nyekra); possibly the Kénkateye were not yet in existence in his day. On the other hand, Snethlage defines the concept quite differently, making it comprise: (a) Aponegikrãn = Temembó = Mannajo; (b) Kapiekrãn; (c) Sacamekrãn = Gamellas de Codo; (d) Korumekrãn; (e) Acobu; (f) Remkókamekrãn; (g) Aponyekrãn; (h) Kénkateye.

This list evokes the following comments:

The Aponegikrãn are, indeed, identical with Aponyekrãn, or rather Apą'nyekra but not with the Temembó and, still less, with the Mannajo (= Amanayé). Kapiekrãn, Korumekrãn, and Remkókamekran are merely three distinct names for one tribe, the Canella of Ponto. The Sacamekrãn were quite distinct from the Gamella of Codó, in fact, were their bitter enemies. On the other hand, these Gamella, who are not Timbira at all, are identical with the Acobu (= Hakąpó).

In Les Capiekrans, Father Etienne Ignace gives misleading statements about the habitat of the Canella whose coastal origin he "proves" by their allegedly excessive

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Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 38:386.

Martius, Beiträge, vol. 2.

Ibid., 1:285.

Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 141.

619 101 114 salting of food even at the present day! He assigns to the Canella four villages near Grajahú, viz. Dois Braços—an old Guajajára colony somewhat above Barra do Corda; Jacaré (unknown to me, but certainly not a Canella village); Ponto (actually Canella, but seventy-eight kilometers south of Barra do Corda); and Mocura (a former Čą′kamekra settlement southeast of Barra do Corda). However, this author asserts, contrary to the facts at any period, that Canella groups reside in and around Barra do Corda, alongside of Craméro (?) and Crarros Indians (Krahõ′, fifty kilometers southwest of Barra do Corda). His other statements likewise are most inaccurate and refer, as Snethlage correctly recognized, to tribes [illegible]side the Gê stock. Ignace's history of the Capiekran is a greatly abbreviated and [illegible]gured summary of Ribeiro, and the vocabulary he obtained from Canella Indians visiting Bahia in 1902 includes a considerable number of words not belonging to their speech.

Similarly we must correct the statements of Pompeu Sobrinho concerning the habitat of the Canella.[48] These neither resided at the Balsas headwaters until a few years ago, nor are they at present situated in the missions of Barra do Corda. Their villages never lay on the left bank of the Rio Corda, but invariably east of this river. Of the five names he cites as borne by the principal Canella settlements, Capim = Porquinhos, and Soledade = Travessia. Both the Timbira of the Gurupy and the forest-dwelling Krẽyé of Bacabal call the Canella by the name Krĩkatí, and the Pųkóbye by the name Põkatie (those of the steppes [põ]). Ribeiro, too, mentions the Poncatgê in connection with the Põrekamekra. To the Akwẽ-Šerénte the Canella tribes are known as Worazúzauré (large alien tribe) in contrast to the Worazuríe (Krahõ′).

Ribeiro was the first writer to apply the term Canellas finas; he applied it to the Capiecrans (our Rąmkõ′kamekra) and expressly admits ignorance of the etymology of this name: "nome do qual ignoramos a etymologia."[49] Others, however, were not backward in giving interpretations. Martius translates the name as "thin feet," declaring that the Corumecrans achieved the desired slenderness for their lower legs by means of tight cotton bands adopted in youth.[50] Saint-Adolphe has it that the discoverers of the Timbira dubbed them "Canellas finas" because of the thinness of their legs and bodies; while Kissenberth translates the name as "Indians with thin shinbones."[51] Finally, Snethlage declares that the thin calves of the Krãn tribes had always aroused attention, whence the Capiekrãn were designated as "Canellas finas."

To be sure, canella signifies "shinbone" and "calf" to boot, for which vulgar Portuguese lacks a separate term; it is also true that fino means "thin, fine, delicate." These facts, however, were naturally known to Ribeiro as well as to others of Portuguese speech; if he preferred to leave the rendering open, it was because his undoubtedly accurate knowledge of Capiecran had taught him to reject the common interpretation of the phrase. Certainly it would be remarkable if the very people who from childhood on ardently practice running and log racing as their national sport were to be distinguished from other tribes by the delicacy of their calves. A glance at their photographs suffices to dispel this interpretation.

000 Personally I should prefer to follow Ribeiro's example, but tentatively propose

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[48] Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 4, 8.

[49] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 45.

[50] "Ihre Unterschenkel sind mit Querbändern von gefärbter Baumwolle geziert, deren straffes Anziehen von Jugend auf sie als Mittel betrachten, die gewünschte Schlankheit zu erlangen." Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:822. Martius, Beiträge, 1:285.

[51] Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Timbi[illegible]." Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 47.

Personally I should prefer to follow Ribeiro's example, but tentatively propose
131 101 the following explanation. Many maps, especially those of earlier date, register between the Rio Corda and the upper Mearim (or its tributary rivulet, the Engeitado) a range of mountains. In reality this, as in other comparable cases, is nothing but an elongated hill hardly one hundred meters above the valley of the Corda. It is visible if one looks from the Apą'nyekra settlement of Porquinhos obliquely upstream across the near-by Rio Corda. This eminence, nowadays commonly known as Pedra Branca, figures on the maps cited as "Serra da Canella" (*nota bene: da Canella*, not *dos Canellas*, as would be inevitable if it were named after the Indian tribe of that name, in whose territory it lies). Whence, then, the appellation for this eminence? The term Canella designates not only "shinbone," but also "cinnamon"; in northern Brazil there are several trees whose bark emits a cinnamon-like odor and which are for that reason quite generally called canella. Conceivably—but only conceivably—the Serra da Canella (fina) got its name from a (slender) cinnamon tree, and the Indians in turn were called after the mountain in their country.

11. *Kénkateye.*—The first sizable left affluent of the Rio Alpercatas is still known
619 101 174 as Ribeirão dos Caboclos (caboclo = Indian) because it was the former habitat of the Kénkateye Canella, whose name denotes "those of the rock (or mountains)." According to Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra statements the formation of this tribe seems to be of recent date—I should conjecture about the 'sixties of the last century. It is said to refer to an Apą'nyekra band that at one time joined the Krahõ', who were uniformly friendly to this tribe. Later, the story goes, the emigrants, reinforced by a number of Krahõ', returned and settled in the region of the Alpercatas headwaters, which is known as the *travessia*.
619 175 In the late summer of 1908 Kissenberth when traveling from Barra do Corda to Carolina, visited a settlement of eight huts belonging to this tribe, but did not stay more than a few hours.

[161] In 1913 the approximately 150 Kénkateye living in the village of Chinello on the right bank of the Ribeirão dos Caboclos were wiped out by the fazendeiro Raymundo Arruda. With a company of fifty followers and a barrel of gin he entered the aldea to the music of an accordion, got the men drunk, put them in irons, tied them to one another, dragged them outside the village, and had his troop shoot down some fifty males. Several women were also massacred with firearms and bushknives. Those natives who for one reason or another escaped dispersed. Fróes Abreu's account of this incident is incorrect. The Indian inspector of Maranhão had the murderers put on trial, but the jury of Barra do Corda unanimously acquitted them, and even today the residents proudly point out the members of Arruda's troop who began the massacre.

619 177 114 Most of the survivors sought and found refuge with their old Krahõ' friends, among whom I saw some in 1930 at Pedra Furada. Others fled to the Apą'nyekra, and a few to the Pųkõbye and Rąmkõ'kamekra, but as an independent group they are extinct. Snethlage sets the remnants at possibly 200 and makes them reside on the Rio Balsas with other tribal residues—a double error. Pompeu Sobrinho is mistaken in still crediting the fraction residing among the Apą'nyekra with a chief of their own.

619 101 *12. The Apą'nyekra.*—This term (or its variants Apą'nekra and Apą'nkamekra) is common to the people themselves and their neighbors. It is derived from apą'n

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Brué, Carte du Brésil. Niemeyer, Carta do Imperio do Brazil.

Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 47; Araguaya-Reise, 41.

Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 225.

Nordostbras. Ind., 142; on p. 116 he only speaks of "several" (*einigen*).

Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 5.

619 161 (piranha [*Serrasalmo* sp.]), referring to the red paint put on the lower jaw, a decoration peculiar to this tribe among the Timbira. Ribeiro mentions the "Ponecra" as neighbors of the Sacamecrans (Čą'kamekra).[37] In 1819 Martius obtained a vocabulary from a band of this tribe mixed with Krahō', which had come on a visit to Caxias.[38] His orthography of the tribal name, "Aponegicrans," proves that he heard it not from the natives themselves, but from one of his Brazilian informants, probably Oliveira Figueiredo, since Ribeiro's spelling gives a simpler and phonetically better form. Martius' word forms in some measure coincide with my lists of 1913 and 1930. His frequent use of the "Sch" symbol is due to the occasional merging of the "y" sound into "z" or "ž" among the Apą'nyekra (as well as Krahō').

619 115 In 1913 I encountered a Canella band at São Luiz and obtained a short word list from the leader. He mendaciously declared himself a Rẹmakō'kamekrere, that is, Rąmkō'kamekra from Ponto. Subsequently I got to know him well; he turned out to be the chief of the Apą'nyekra of Porquinhos, Capitão Chico Noleto. Members of his tribe often pretend to be Rąmkō'kamekra, because these enjoy a somewhat better reputation among Neobrazilians.

619 131 The Apą'nyekra occupy the village of Porquinhos on a small right-hand tributary of the upper Rio Corda. In the east they used to adjoin the Rąmkō'kamekra on the Porcos-Papagaio watershed, these being likewise tributaries of the river from the same direction. Westward they extended beyond the Rio Corda: into the steppe region of the upper Mearim—not the forests, which are held by the Guajajára. Their western neighbors were probably the Pųkóbye of the Rio Grajahú region.

619 721 178 Of this ancient habitat they retain approximately the site of their present village. Their community is decadent: the residents are almost constantly gadding about on the outside, devoting little time to agriculture. Their impertinent mendicancy, in which the above-mentioned chief excels, makes a sojourn among them highly unpleasant. Allegedly they were often at war with the Rąmkō'kamekra and proved more than a match for them. At present they are inferior in numbers and otherwise to their old enemies, who rather look down upon them, while their relations with the Krahō' and Pųkóbye have always been better.

619 161 The census of 1919 estimates the Apą'nyekra at 118 souls; during my visit in 1929 I set the figure somewhat higher, at possibly 130. Since then it has obviously increased somewhat. In 1930 I obtained a vocabulary of one hundred and sixty-nine words.

619 131 101 *13. The Rąmkō'kamekra.*—Until 1934 these eastern neighbors of the Apą'nyekra occupied the large village of Ponto, south of Barra do Corda, near the sources of the Santo Estevão, a left affluent of the Ourives. As to the distance of Ponto from Barra do Corda observers are strangely at variance: Snethlage sets it at one hundred and twenty kilometers; Fróes Abreu speaks of one hundred kilometers, which his map reduces to fifty; having myself covered the entire distance on a mount some twenty times and measured part of it with a 10-meter rod, I cannot put the distance above seventy-eight kilometers.[39]

The tribal name is derived from a small eastern source of the Santo Estevão known to Neobrazilians as Cabeceira do Campo. This brook (kō, water) in turn its name from the almecega trees (rąm, almecega [*Protium* sp.]) along its nks. Thus, the word as a whole designates "the tribe on the almecega water."

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[37] Ribeiro, Roteiro, 43.

[38] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:820. Beiträge, 2:149.

[39] Snethlage, Meine Reise, 464. F[illegible]es Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 167.

619 101 To the Apą'nyekra, Krahõ' and *Pųkóbye they are* known as Kǫ'ikra, Kǫirumekra (eastern tribe, from kǫ'i east, kǫ'irum, toward the east). Martius's spelling of this name is "Corumecrans." They are descended from the "Capiecran" of old, whose sad history Ribeiro records;[illegible] yet that appellation is wholly unknown and unintelligible to the tribesmen today.

619 131 Originally their territory embraced the steppes between the Itapicurú and the Corda, as far northward as about 5° 50′, where the dry-forest habitat of the hostile Čą'kamekra begins to dominate in the region of the Rio das Flores. Eastward they roved as far as Picos, which according to Ribeiro was among the settlements destroyed by them. Toward the west the Porcos-Papagaios watershed separated them from the Apą'nyekra. Thus, they occupied at one time the region of the middle and lower Alpercatas, of the Ourives and Porcus, except for that northernmost section which already falls into the dry-forest zone.

619 721 175 Annually the Capiecran suffered from the bandeiras, against whose attacks the open steppes put them at a definite disadvantage. From 1793–1801 they sustained heavy losses, especially of women and children, many of whom were carried off by the soldiers under the leadership of Domingos Lopes, the commandant of Pastos Bons. In the following years these defeats were avenged in a series of furious attacks, which compelled the Neobrazilians to abandon all their fazendas—according to Ribeiro, well over thirty on both sides of the Alpercatas.

In 1814 the Capiecran, beaten by the Čą'kamekra, accepted the terms of a treaty offered by the leader of a bandeira—on condition of receiving aid in the destruction of their enemies. In the beginning of 1815 the tribe under its chief, Tempẽ', marched to Burityzinho on a left affluent of the Itapicurú, between the present towns of Picos and Mirador; and during that year it participated in a raid against the Čą'kamekra. They were now to be settled at Barra do Corrente on the Itapicurú, but the plan was not executed.[illegible] Instead of reorganizing the tribe in adjustment to the new conditions, the authorities left it to shift by itself without attention to its economic maintenance. In consequence the Capiecran scattered in small bands over the settled neighborhood, inflicting almost more serious damage on the residents by theft than in the previous period of warfare by their raids.

619 175 648 Instead of nipping the trouble in the bud, the officials remained wholly passive for two years, even suppressing all complaints of the aggrieved settlers. Then abruptly the reverse attitude was assumed. On the subterfuge that assistance was once more required for an expedition against the Čą'kamekra, a large part of the tribe was lured to Caxias, which was then afflicted with a smallpox epidemic. On their arrival a number of Indian women were arrested on a charge of having stolen victuals—among them the chief's wife. By way of punishment they were flogged and chained up without consideration for their suckling babes. When Tempẽ' and a few others remonstrated, one of his men was killed and he himself flogged. Despondent in view of this treachery, the half-starved and already smallpox-infected Capiecran scattered, seeking to escape to their former home, but even in this wretched plight they were pursued and some of them shot down near São José, fourteen leguas from Caxias. The epidemic, however, had already spread in October 1817 to the Apinayé beyond the Tocantins and came to victimize thousands of Indians. In 1819 Ribeiro reports that there were only scattered remnants of the Capiecran on the east bank of the Grajahú and at Burityzinho. 619

648 Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition still preserves the memory of that chief Tempẽ', whose

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173 [illegible] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 45–61; Roteiro, 43–45.

[illegible] Moreira Pinto, Apontamentos, "Canellas finas."

619 648 173 name has been matrilineally transmitted until today, of the treaty, and of the tragic incidents at Caxias. But it speaks of Tempẽ′'s murder, while Ribeiro ascribes his death to the smallpox. Further, the natives report the flight of the tribe into the dry forest in the angle formed by the Corda and the Ribeirão dos Porcos; and how a tribesman whose daughter had remained among the colonists acted as a go-between negotiating a new treaty of peace. 175 648 619 This they have loyally kept; for the rebellion of 1860 against the Indian superintendent João da Cunha Alcanfor on the upper Mearim was not, as Father Bartolomeo da Monza has it, a Canella but a Guajajára uprising.[illegible] In the 1901 revolt of the Guajajára the Rąmkō′kamekra furnished a contingent of 40 (not 200, as Ignace writes) warriors under chief Major Delfino Kōkaipó to aid the troops sent against the rebels.

619 114 In 1924 Snethlage spent three weeks, in 1928 Fróes Abreu four days in Ponto; I shall have frequent occasion to cite their observations. In 1929 I paid my first visit there, spending a little over a month; in 1930, 1931, 1933, 1935, and 1936 I stayed there, respectively, a little over two months, two and a half months, nearly three months, over two months, and two and a half months. Adopted as the son of the above-mentioned Delfino Kōkaipó's son, I bear his Indian name.

619 175 In 1934 lack of timber for clearings forced the Indians to abandon Ponto and to seek a new site a little farther downstream, at Baixão Preto, where a measles epidemic carried off some twenty children. Thereupon the settlement was moved to a somewhat higher altitude, but the grippe immediately demanded a number of further victims, and this scourge had not yet disappeared when the smallpox set in (1935). After the death of their principal chief, Ropką′, the Indians fled in various directions, but reunited after the lapse of several months, some on the Ribeirão dos Bois, others on the Ribeirão dos Pombos. Each of these fractions obstinately insisted on the other's giving up its settlement in order to join the other. With some difficulty I persuaded them in 1936 to form a new common village on the Ribeirão da Rapoza.

619 161 The population seems to have maintained itself at a level in recent years. The census of 1919 lists Ponto with 226 inhabitants, clearly an understatement. On the other hand, Snethlage's figure of 400 for Remakokamekrãn and Sakamekrãn, that is, for Ponto in 1929, is certainly excessive. In 1933 I counted 298; in 1935 they had decreased to 265, but in 1936 they numbered close to 300.

619 192 114 On the speech of the three Canella tribes the following material has been published:

1819. Martius, Beiträge, 2:149. 164 words (Aponegieran-Apą′nyekra).
1902. Ignace, Les Capiecrans, 479. 36 words (Canellas, tribe not specified).
1908. Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 53. 46 words (Canellas of Soledade-Kénkateye).
1913. Nimuendajú, Vokabular der Timbiras. 55 words (allegedly Remakókamekrere, actually Apą′nyekra).
1924. Snethlage, Unter nordostbrasilianischen Indianern, 187 f. 399 words (Rąmkō′kamekrąn).
1928. Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 201 f. 200 words and short sentences, 38 personal names (Canella of Ponto-Rąmkō′kamekra).
1929–1930. Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 17 f. 798 words (Portuguese-Canella and Canella-Portuguese). His grammatical remarks rest on dubious forms and are often positively incorrect: feminine suffix, plural by duplication, word contraction, pronominal infixation, etc.

14. The Čą′kamekra

619 101 To the northeast, beyond the watershed of the Rio Corda basin, the Rąmkō′kamekra were bounded by the territory of their ancient enemies, the Čą′kamekra, who held the district of the Rio das Flores, a rivulet entering the Rio Mearim from the east;

[illegible] Bartolomeo da Monza, Massacro di Alto Alegre.

619 101 but they have never resided on the Rio Balsas, where Martius places them.[illegible] Because the dry forest already predominates in their habitat, the Neobrazilians call these people Timbiras da Matta or Matteiros. Another appellation for them, unintelligible to me, apparently used to be Terantim, which occurs as early as 1731; likewise the form Berintim.[illegible]

The term they themselves and the other Timbira apply is Čą'kamekra, from čąre (steppe fox [*Canis brasiliensis*]). Ribeiro's spelling "Sacamecran" and Snethlage's "Sakamekrân," though the latter's word lists twice render "tachorã" as raposa (= steppe fox). Alternative Rąmkō'kamekra terms for this people are Irómkateye (those of the forest [iróm]), and Mukúrkateye, after the Brejo da Mucura, the site of their last village.

619 175 148 In Ribeiro's day the Čą'kamekra were an extremely warlike tribe, which ravaged the fazendas along the Caxias-Pastos Bons route and later made navigation on the Mearim unsafe. At that time they occupied the villages of Alagoas and Pintado. After their defeat by Felix do Rego toward the close of the eighteenth century, they suffered no serious harm from any bandeira. In 1815 a part of the tribe was tricked by false proposals of peace, captured with the assistance of Capiecran, and publicly auctioned off in Caxias as slaves.

In 1818 another bandeira offered proposals for a new treaty and gifts, of which only the latter were accepted. A cargo of iron tools, which was thereupon sent them, they also accepted, but without presenting themselves to the forwarders. Finally, however a number of them went downstream in the boat, ostensibly to ratify the treaty in Caxias, but at the Remanso do Urubú they murdered the crew and fled back into the woods.

619 175 721 [114] The military post of Principe Regente at the Alpercaras-Itapicurú confluence played a great part in the conflicts with both Čą'kamekra and Rąmkō'kamekra. Even before the establishment of Pastos Bons (1764) a road had been pushed onward from Caxias into this region, though Indian attacks necessitated its abandonment. During the first four years of the post, twenty members of the garrison were killed by the Indians. For three years its commandant was the oft-cited Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. In 1817 political intrigues led to its abandonment in favor of the newly laid out settlement of Almeida, fifteen kilometers below the present Picos. Thereupon the Indian attacks immediately multiplied to such an extent that even São Zacharias farther downstream had to be abandoned.[illegible]

619 175 167 [173] The Čą'kamekra remained hostile until at least the 'forties. In 1847 mention is still made of the two Matteiro villages. In 1854 we hear of several hordes living scattered on the banks of the Mearim between the Morro do Cocal Grande (= Morro do Pontal?) and the Morro do Bezerra, that is, about between 5° 10′ and 5° 20′, as well as near Picos on the Itapicurú. In 1855 some forty were living on the Morro do Bezerra, where a number died of fever in the course of the next two years. Others moved to the Rio dos Flores while the remainder was settled at Intans, a little below the Morro do Bezerra, whence they migrated to the Canellas da Chapada (?). Rąmkō'kamekra tradition likewise tells of peace made by the Čą'kamekra many years ago; thereupon the two tribes jointly occupied one village, but disease caused them to separate again.

At all events the remnants of the Čą'kamekra reunited in the region of the upper Rio das Flores, where they constantly receded southward before the wave of settlers. In the 'nineties they lived on the Brejo da Mucura, one of the most remote

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[illegible] Martius, Beiträge, 1:285.

[illegible] Annaes, 5:553, 559. Pereira do Lago, Itinerario, 421.

[illegible] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 36; Roteiro, 64, Nota 27. Marques, Apontamentos, 16, 27.

619 175 167 [197] sources of that rivulet. Unable to maintain themselves in independence, they sought and found refuge, about the turn of the century, among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, fusing with them so as to lose their separate existence. According to their own statements their ancient language was wholly identical with that of the Rąmkõ'kamekra.

15. Extinct Tribes

619 101 114 Concerning the following four tribes, now wholly extinct, there is a complete lack of linguistic or ethnographic material. Nevertheless, judging from the references to them in the literature and in contemporary Timbira tradition, the first two were almost certainly of Timbira affiliation, the two others at least probably so.

Karẽkateye.—Their name is derived from karẽ (mud). Their identity with the older authors' Caracategé and Canacategé is pure conjecture on my part. According to Ribeiro, the Cannaquetgê (Canaqtegê) occupied a village on the Rio Farinha until 1814.[106] In that year they asked for peace, which was denied because, as Ribeiro remarks, slaves were needed. The bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara with Krahõ' allies attacked them, enslaved a goodly number, selling them to Pará, and caused the dispersal of the rest. On the other hand, Pinto de Magalhães represents himself and his Krahõ' as victims of the Canacategé.[107]

Subsequently the Caracategé are associated with the banks of the Grajahú immediately above the sites occupied during the past decades by the Kre'pų'mkateye. In 1851 they, jointly with the Gaviões, are located on the Grajahú between Tapera Leopoldina and Chapada (= Grajahú).[108] In 1853 they are said to reside at Jussaral on the Mearim—an unintelligible statement since, so far as that region has been known at all, its forests have been occupied only by Guajajára.

619 174 114 These Caracategé are conceivably the ancestors of the present Kre'pų'mkateye, but it is also possible that they are identical with the Karẽkateye of Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition. According to the latter, the tribal remnants joined them and were taken into their community. At certain ceremonies of the tamhą'k (p. 217), where the inhabitants of Ponto figure according to their tribal descent, the descendants of the Karẽkateye still form a separate little group, with a site on the north-northwest side of the plaza, suggesting that their forefathers had immigrated from that direction. This would tally absolutely with the identity of the Karẽkateye and the Caracategé of the Rio Grajahú. On the other hand, their equation with the Canacategé of the Rio Farinha would have put them on the west-southwest side, contrary to the observed facts.

619 101 131 *The Krõ'rekamekra.*—The remnants of this people were adopted by the Rąmkõ'kamekra under similar circumstances. Their leader at the time is said to have been a great singer. In the tamhą'k ceremonial the very few descendants of this tribe stand on the southwest side of the plaza, in consonance with their original habitat. Pinto de Magalhães[109] lists the Crurê-Camecran with nine (subtracting synonyms, only five) other tribes as living in the region north of São Pedro de Alcantara and bounded in the west by the Tocantins, in the east by the watershed, in the north by the tropical forest zone, 5° 10'; the tribe is said to be hostile to the Krahõ'. Pohl also places the Crurecamecrans on the east bank of the Tocantins, whereas Martius[110] and Cazal merely mention them as Crurecamecrans and Crorécamecrans.

Krõre in Timbira signifies the taitetú pig (*Dicotyles labiatus*).

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[106] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 70, 83; Roteiro, 46.

[107] Almeida, Carolina, 52.

[108] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios."

[109] Almeida, Carolina, 55.

[110] Martius, Beiträge, 2:284. ~~Cazal, Chorographia, 2:293.~~ Pohl, Reise, 2:211.

[1 i.e. the C̄ą'Kamedra --- Analyst.]

619 101 *The Nyurukwayé.*—The literature records such synonyms as Norocoagê, Norogagê, Noraguagê, Noraquagê, Unnruguajê.[illegible] The name is derived from the Timbira word for dwelling: Apinayé nyurukwá, Eastern Timbira nyõkwa, yũkwá. However, the Eastern Timbira also use the Apinayé designation for the tribe in question, which lived on the west side of the Tocantins, south of the Apinayé, though Pohl erroneously puts them among the tribes of the east side.

619 175 Pinto de Magalhães places them among the tribes between the Tocantins and the Araguaya, from São Pedro de Alcantara to the confluence of these rivers. He reports how *more suo* he had tried to make friends with them by aiding the Krahô' in a raid against the Norocagês and sending back to their own people two of the three women that were made captives. This seems to have occurred in 1810 or a little later.

According to Ribeiro this tribe was enslaved and dispersed at the same time as the Canaquetgês, that is, in 1815. However, it evidently maintained its existence for some time thereafter, since Cunha Mattos reports an attack in 1824 by Inhajurupé-Chavante and Noraguagés on the Šerénte aldea Graciosa, which he had founded somewhat below the present Porto Nacional. He regarded the Noraguagés as of the same origin as the Šerénte and describes them as a tribe of insignificant size, though his figure of 200 warriors would correspond to a total of 800 to 1000 souls. They were said to reside west of the Temembó or Pepuxi (=Krahô' ? Šavánte ?) in the region of the Estreito, 6° 30'.

In 1844 Castelnau once more cites the tribe as one of the five Šerénte subtribes[illegible]—unquestionably an error, for the Šerénte constitute a single tribal unit. Since then the Nyurukwayé no longer appear in the sources. The Krahô' of today recognize the name, but disclaim any further knowledge.

The Augutgé.—Without any localization Ribeiro mentions a tribe he designates once by the above name, a second as Angetgê:

> In 1816 a bandeira lured it into its power by mendacious promises, enslaved its members, and hacked to pieces its chief when he protested against such treachery. Part of the slaves were shipped to Pará, the rest were sold to itinerant traders, who sold them off to Piauhy.

Otherwise I have no knowledge of any statements about this tribe; possibly the name is a distortion of Ahótye (= Apinayé).

619 101 *Other names.*—Various tribal names referred to the Timbira zone appear in the literature without definite localization, so that it is not worth while to discuss them in detail.[illegible]

Chacamecran, Xocamecran, and Jocamecran presumably refer to the Čą'kamekra. Others (such as Manacobgê, Caturecategê, Capacatagê [= Capetigi ?], Sapieran, and Tucategê) I am unable to interpret. They may or may not have been Timbira tribes, for we must recollect that the Tupí Amanayé, too, bear a tribal name ending in -ye, -gê.

[illegible] Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Norogagês." Ribeiro, Memoria, § 33; Roteiro, 37, 46. Pohl Reise, 2:682. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:257; 38:21, 78. Almeida, Carolina, 51. Marques Apontamentos, "Tocantins."

[illegible] Castelnau, Histoire, 1:332.

[illegible] Martius, Beiträge, 1:284. Pohl, Reise, 2:182. Almeida, Carolina, 55. Marques, Apontamentos "Santa Thereza," "Tocantins." Casal, Chorographia, 2:293.

II. ECOLOGY

Settlements and Houses

361 182 *Settlements.*—One of the most characteristic features of Timbira culture—in the natives' own opinion—is the circular village plan. So long as their aboriginal life retains a spark of vitality they cling to this mode of settlement, which is most intimately bound up with their socioceremonial organization. Notwithstanding their ignorance of Indian usage, the Baptist missionaries in Brazil correctly recognized the social significance of this feature and did their utmost to effect its abandonment; for as long as it survives the ancient social order, too, lives on, and within that there is no place for missionaries. When the Canella transplanted their village to the site of Ponto in 1924, the Indian agent in Barra do Corda likewise tried to convince them that straight streets were far more beautiful, but he had the good sense to desist when the Indians vigorously spurned the proposal.

361 171 114 Snethlage has it that Pereira do Lago ascribes circular villages to the Gamella of Vianna, and Ferreira Gomes to the Krahô', while Ribeiro is supposed to credit a semilunar form to the Timbira of Goyaz.[illegible] Actually Pereira merely reports round Gamella *huts*, without saying a word about their arrangement. Ribeiro, on the other hand, after stating that the Timbira encampments and settlements were invariably circular, goes on to say: "Alguns Indios de Goyaz edificam em meia lua." This doubtless refers to the horseshoe shape of Šavánte-Šerénte villages. Finally, Ferreira Gomes, though mentioning circular settlements for the Kréyé (then still near Imperatriz), never got to see any Krahô', as he explicitly states: ". . . tres aldeas de indigenos mansos os quaes não foram vistos por mim . . . . estes indigenas são de duas nações, caraús e chavantes."[illegible]

361 183 The village (krī) site must fulfill the following conditions:

1. It must be level. Since level ground of adequate extent is hardly to be found on the slope in the direction of the watercourses, the villages are all situated on the level of the steppe, usually at the end of a spur projecting into the angle between two converging streams.
2. The ground should be neither rocky nor sandy, but represent an outcrop of hard clay, for on sand or rubble barefoot folk cannot dance in comfort, especially if they indulge with Timbira perseverance.
3. The site must not be too far from the water supply, though a difference of a kilometer does not matter.
4. There must be an adequate *galeria* forest near by to provide clearings for a number of years. When the annual tree-felling has deforested the land to the distance of, say, twelve kilometers from the village, the settlement is transferred to a new site that has a sufficiency of timber in the vicinity.
5. Finally, attention is paid to freedom from fever, in which respect the Timbira steppes are, as a rule, favorably situated.

361 313 621 Ponto may serve as a typical steppe Timbira settlement. To be sure, its form lacks the geometrical perfection credited to it in Fróes Abreu's plan, and this author likewise fails to indicate that the village is elevated above the plain.[illegible] In 1930 it comprised thirty-one houses (ikré), all of whose broad sides faced the plaza. The diameter of the circle was 300 m. Along the front façade of the houses there extends all around the plaza a street (krīkapē') of irregular width; it shall henceforth be designated as the "boulevard" (fig. 1). Its minimum width may be set at about 7 m. In front of the houses of the two vų'tę' girls (see p. 92), which always lie opposite each other, the boulevard expands into a small dance ground. Because of

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[illegible] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 152.

[illegible] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 490, 495.

[illegible] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 99, 168.

361 the incessant dancing and running on this street, not a blade of grass can thrive there; furthermore it is specially cleared for festive occasions.

363 The central plaza (ką), some 50 m. in diameter, is also kept free of any growth
367 of grass. It is not a perfect circle either. A radial path (vịrị prị kąra), from 3 to 5 m. in width, which is likewise kept free of grass, at least during the ceremonial season, connects each dwelling with the plaza. On the triangular patches between the radial paths the steppe grass grows unhindered, but no shrubs are tolerated there; and of the timber that once grew on the steppe here a single large tree, a sucupira, was allowed to stand at the margin of the plaza (see p. 1).

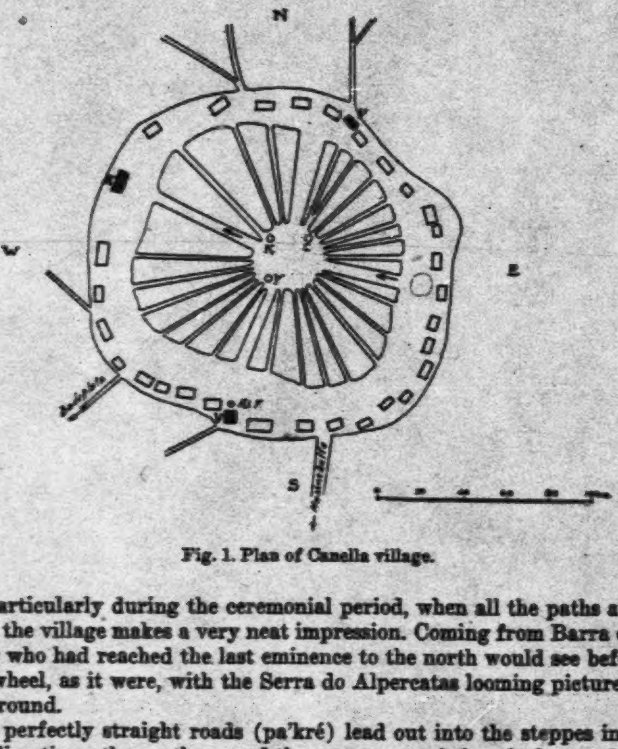

Fig. 1. Plan of Canella village.

363 More particularly during the ceremonial period, when all the paths and plazas
367 are clean, the village makes a very neat impression. Coming from Barra do Corda, a traveler who had reached the last eminence to the north would see before him a gigantic wheel, as it were, with the Serra do Alpercatas looming picturesquely in the background.

361 Almost perfectly straight roads (pa'kré) lead out into the steppes in the four
491 cardinal directions, the northern and the eastern ones being the best and the longest. The former is seventeen kilometers in length, not twenty-five to thirty kilometers, as Snethlage reports. These roads, essentially designed as log-race tracks (pl. 1, *c*) are stripped of trees and bushes only on certain occasions—about once every five years; then a space of at least seven meters is cleared. Under ordinary circumstances they serve as highways for Indians and Neobrazilians alike. I have seen such roads also among the Krĩkatí, Pųkóbye, and Apę'nyekra; and they are reported for the Western Gaviões territory (p. 21).

487 Numerous narrow trails traverse the steppe and the *galeria* forest in all directions, leading to plantations and camp sites frequented on hunting or fishing trips. The paths to the cultivated plots are everywhere comparatively wide and kept

487 tidy so as to offer no obstacle to the women burdened with their crammed carrying baskets (pl. 5, *b*). Swamps are crossed on extended tree trunks, along which poles are sometimes planted to afford a grip. Brooks are spanned by foot bridges, that is, by thick logs which rest on props driven into the water. These supports are of scissors shape and occasionally have horizontal poles tied to them above for a railing. The logs are sometimes hewn flat on the upper surface so as to prevent the feet from slipping off. If a very thick tree trunk topples across a trail, the Indians will sometimes lay a number of poles close together on both sides, thus making an inclined plane for comfortably ascending and descending.

361 312 At a distance of seven hundred meters from the circle of houses, where the eastern race track crosses the Ribeirão Santo Estevão, the villagers have their main water supply; there throughout the day one meets Indians of any age and either sex, bathing or fetching water (pl. 2, *b*). Another source, only occasionally utilized by the inmates of two or three houses, was situated two hundred meters farther downstream, in the shade of a picturesque old tree. The Santo Estevão, which even in the dry season may attain a width of 15 m. and a depth of 1.70 m., furnishes very fine, limpid water.

312 227 185 Five hundred meters north of the village there is a slope draining toward the Santo Estevão, though a little brook formed at the bottom only during the rainy season (pl. 2, *a*). As soon as the Canella had settled, they planted numerous burity palms to the distance of half a kilometer on the floor of the valley, so that today water is to be found there even in the driest of dry seasons. The Indians further stocked the watercourse created by them with little fish and a young crocodile they had caught—in the hope that these water animals would do their bit to form a true stream of the steppe. No one fell foul of this artificially established burity stand. I have rarely seen chief Kukrãčą' so indignant as when he saw in his niece's hand a young burity leaf she had brought back from her water-carrying trip; he came near dealing her a blow.

312 The Krikatí of Canto da Aldea, at the farthest source of the Rio Pindaré, lacked running water, relying on sundry water holes dug at the bottom of the dried-up bed of the creek.

342 177 *Houses.*—All the Timbira have settlements nowadays, with houses designed for several years' tenancy; and there they dwell in full numbers, especially during the ceremonial season, from May until August. The form of the houses varies in the several tribes, and to some extent even within a single village, but it invariably bears a strong resemblance to the type in vogue among the poorer Neobrazilians. Since this extends far beyond the Timbira zone among Neobrazilians, occurring likewise among the unrelated Guajajára, we may assume that the Indians have adopted it from their civilized neighbors. The question remains under what influences it developed among the Neobrazilians.

Of the Timbira, the Rąmkõ'kamekra undoubtedly have the best houses. Two parallel rows of forked posts (ikréyõčwáhi) support two horizontal beams (pĩteka'pa), which are connected by two other beams laid across their ends at right angles. In the central line of the interior space there are two or three taller posts (ikréyemáganopĩ) which bear the ridgepole; this is at each side somewhat shorter than the framework. From each end of the ridgepole two girders descend (ikreyõ) over the four corners of the frame. The intervening spaces are filled with a sufficient number of rafters for the attachment of the thatch. Thus the house has a top composed of four planes, the hip-roof type by itself establishing its nonaboriginal character.

342 824 The fronds of the babassu or of the anajá palm furnish thatch for the roofs; such walls as there are are of the same material, which is tied to the posts and, if need be, to supplementary intermediate poles. The parts of the structure are tied together with vines. All the palm thatch is used with the rib of the leaf in horizontal position and with unilaterally dependent leaflets. The ridge is covered with longitudinally laid palm fronds held down by a number of angle-shaped pieces of wood hooked together in pairs.

342 A complete house is walled on all four sides, but sometimes the front wall is partly or wholly missing; or only one half of the house forms a sort of closed room. But the door always faces the long side turned toward the plaza. This front door usually has for a counterpart an entrance in the rear wall. The houses of Ponto, without an exception, conform to this type (pl. 1, *b*); not a single one has the door in the gable wall, as has been alleged.[137] This form does occur fairly often, however, among the Krahõ'.

None of the Canella houses has windows, but these are also lacking in many Neobrazilian homes. The entrance is generally barred by a transversely set old racing log which must be cleared, its purpose being to exclude the freely roaming domestic pigs. At night and when all inmates are away the door is closed, meagerly enough, with a mat of palm thatch placed or hung in front of it. The men erect the houses in which they live, but the women own them.

345 561 The dwellings of the families of the vų'tę' girls, where the age classes assemble and are entertained during the ceremonial period of the year, are put up by the two youngest age classes. The class localized on the west side of the plaza erects the home of the vų'tę' associated with the east, and vice versa.

342 561 464 The youngest age classes also put up a house for the wife of a Canella who has journeyed to the capital in the tribal interest. Anyone desiring the aid of these age classes applies to the councilors, who then transmit the request to the commandants of the classes (p. 93). These units receive no compensation beyond their meals; they always turn up accompanied by their female age-mates, who dance with them and help prepare the food. In one case I saw both matrilineal and patrilineal relatives work at the construction of a house for the woman owning it. In other instances only the residents took part in the building.

351 245 Immediately beside or behind the house, more rarely in front, there are usually several urucú bushes; sometimes one may also see there a pepper shrub, a mango, lemon, or orange tree, the last three of these representing additions from the Neobrazilians.

251 349 A feature comparatively common among the Krahõ', but rare among the Rąmkō'kamekra, is a scaffold of poles close beside or behind the house. On this stage, always too high to be reached by dogs and pigs, all sorts of objects can be dried in the sun, notably manioc paste, but also gourd vessels, arrow cane, meat, and the like.

511 361 342 [484] The settlements of the other Eastern Timbira present a far less cleanly and orderly appearance. The two Kenpókateye-Krahõ' villages—Pedra Branca (pl. 1, *a*) and Pedra Furada—do not even remotely approach Ponto in this respect. Their huts are smaller, less carefully built, and for the most part lack hip roofs. The Apą'nyekra aldea, Porquinhos, shows marked deterioration with its twelve small and mostly tumbledown huts. Brush covers the plaza, where a small, poor rancho serves as an hostelry for Neobrazilian travelers, an institution I have never seen among other Timbira groups; and the roads are overgrown with weeds. The settle-

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[137] Sampaio and Magalhães Corr.a, Nota sobre habitat rudimentar, Est. II.

571 ments of the Krikatí and Pųkóbye were of the same order; of these, Canto da Aldea
361 had eight huts, São Felix thirteen, and Recurso eleven. These dwellings were either
quite open or had a single wall in the rear, whose palm leaves were attached in
342 vertical position, with the points downward. This mode of attachment is characteristic
of the aboriginal Eastern Timbira, the method now customary among the
[177] Rąmkō'kamekra (p. 40), having been adopted from the Neobrazilians according
to the Indians' own statements. The smallest and poorest huts I have seen are those
in Recurso.

The Kre'pų'mkateye settlement of Gamelleira do Rumo is situated in the woods,
352 on the steep left bank, 50 m. in height, of the Rio Grajahú. It comprises eight rather
573 small huts, most of them having walls of clay-daubed latticework; they surround
an approximately round plaza of barely 50 m. in diameter.

Sleeping and sitting accommodations.—The principal article of furniture is the
platform bed (pą'ra), a grid of closely laid burity leaf stalks resting on four forked
posts with two crossbeams. Its ordinary elevation above the floor is about 50 cm.,
the length from 170 to 200 cm., and the width varies according to the number of
occupants—from half a meter for a single person to 3 m. for a sizable family. If the
house has a closed space, the beds—one for each individual family—are always
indoors. A young girl generally constructs her platform bed below the roof at a
height of 2 m., and surrounds it with a partition of mats; for a ladder she uses a
[417] notched log or simply a pole tied in slanting position. The boys and young men as
a rule sleep in the plaza outdoors, but several of them may sleep on a platform bed
indoors. This is, however, merely a makeshift in case of rain.

285 A larger or smaller number of mats lie on the bed, which when properly made
has a bottom layer of one or two mats of babassu or anajá grass (kupíp) to level
513 the unevenness of the surface, with mats of burity bast (ka'tų') above. The former
531 are long, but relatively narrow and always in a two-step twilling technique; the
latter of any desired width (up to 120 cm.), but at most 1 m. in length, to which
must be added a 30 to 40 cm. fringe. Some of the Indians make burity mats de luxe
by plaiting into the fabric ornamental horizontal or vertical stripes or squares and
painting them with yellow dots, strokes, and zigzags, the pigment being derived
from the root of the urucú shrub. The burity mats do service as a covering, but
the feet remain bare, being always kept warm at night by a fire maintained at the
foot of the bed.

352 However, the mat-covered platform beds also serve as benches and tables; indeed,
a large part of domestic life is spent on them. Many take their meals there,
356 some permit pet dogs to find a resting place on the bed. In consequence the mats
285 are usually greasy and brownish-red from urucú and dirt. When they have turned
filthy, they are washed in a stream with the leaves of a shrub that yield a soaplike
lather. On the other hand, the anajá and babassu grass mats, which can be quickly
manufactured, are never washed, but simply superseded by new ones.

513 On fine nights many families are accustomed to sleep for several hours on mats
on the ground directly in front of their houses. After sunset the people like to sit
on mats outdoors and thus simply remain lying there, falling asleep, even without
a fire, until the chill of the morning drives them inside.

352 Indoors the Canella mostly seat themselves on the bed or, if it should be present,
on a hammock. However, there are also, though rather rarely, curved little stools
[137] (mekričą) from the spathe of the anajá (avarprẽp), especially among the Krikatí
and Pųkópye. Outdoors one likes to seat oneself on mats, women also using for this
purpose fire fans (pl. 12, *a*); and in the woods a bunch of leaves is torn off and

352 used to sit on. In the plaza it is common to sit or lie on the bare ground, though some
regularly bring along a mat to rest on, others making a flat club into a little bench.
But beams as seats placed at the periphery of the plaza I saw only among the
Kre′pų′mkateye.

The platform bed is universal among the Rąmkō′kamekra, Apą′nyekra, and
352 Krahō′, but Snethlage misunderstands Silva e Souza when citing him to support
513 its use among the Southern Kayapó. That author merely reports "arranchamentos
com 400 camas," which last word may designate a sleeping facility on the ground
171 as well as on furniture. Snethlage also misquotes me on the subject of hammocks;
these are not in vogue among the Krīkatí, who sleep on mats on the ground and are
covered with mats, which partly holds also for the Pųkóbye.[138] He rightly ascribes
hammocks to the Kre′pų′mkateye—the only Timbira among whom a number of
352 persons regularly sleep in hammocks. The Krīkatí, Pųkóbye, and Rąmkō′kamekra
do own a fair number of these contrivances, but exclusively for resting in the daytime,
438 and nearly all of them have been obtained in barter from the near-by Guajajára.
The hammocks found among the Krīkatí and Pųkóbye all come from the quite
isolated hamlet of Urucú; the Kre′pų′mkateye obtain theirs from the Guajajára
farther up the Grajahú; and the Rąmkō′kamekra from the settlements of the same
tribe beyond the Rio Corda. The last-mentioned Timbira have also obtained some
Neobrazilian specimens on their begging trips to state capitals.

[282] In any case, to date the Timbira have never manufactured a single cotton hammock.
On the other hand, in their temporary camps they will take but a few minutes
285 to complete a hammock quite serviceable for a few days by interlacing the tips of
283 two burity leaflets. The ropes for suspending this type of hammock are made of
the stalks of the two leaves when worn down to a thin strip. Occasionally such hammocks
may be seen even in permanent villages, especially among the Krahō′. Among
the Apą′nyekra, Snethlage saw a hammock for little children that had been knotted
[137] together from a few bast threads. I noted a rather large sample of this type among
the Rąmkō′kamekra; it consisted of ropes made of the black bark of a *philodendron*
[824] species. It was not in the Guajajára twined technique, but rather conformed to
that of Timbira scoop nets (pl. 17, *c*), though wider-meshed. The Serénte rather
frequently fasten such hammocks to the branches of trees for hunting from ambush;
accordingly, there is no reason to think of diffusion from the Tupí.

342 *Storage.*—In two or three Ponto houses there was in one corner an attic with a
352 flooring of poles. It was partitioned off with thatched walls, provided with a small
177 door, and made accessible by a notched tree. This chamber serves for the storage
of provisions and of valuables; it is due to Neobrazilian influence. Not a single
Timbira tribe has scaffolds for the stowing away of utensils. Except for the attics
just described, such objects are thrust into the roof or wall thatch; stuck under
the beds; or, in the case of small articles, most commonly suspended in bags and
baskets, such as are always available in considerable numbers. For this purpose
the house posts are frequently allowed to keep a projecting limb, and the same end
is served by the cords that sometimes hang down from the rafters. However, there
are no specially designed hooks or crossbeams for suspension.

354 *Fire.*—The fireplaces, fixed appurtenances of the dwellings, fall into three categories.
252 First, there is the small fire kept going in the night at the foot of the beds;
177 in the daytime it is not used except possibly for some technological task. Secondly,
there is the fireplace with its hearthstones for boiling food; this often coincides
with the foregoing,[139] but otherwise is likely to be placed in the unenclosed space

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[138] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 155, 116.

[139] This seems contradictory to the preceding statement. *Editor.*

252 in front of the house. This is an innovation, for originally boiling was unknown
354 to any of the Timbira, who probably cooked on the spit or in the ashes at the fires
177 by their camp sites. Borrowed from the Neobrazilians along with the cooking pots, these fireplaces are always under the roof. Finally, there is the earth oven (kíyadą), invariably, whether in the village or in an encampment, several meters behind the dwelling and toward the open steppe except for certain special ceremonies, when it must be constructed in front of the houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. When not in use, the oven appears as an ugly hodge-podge of rocks, dug-up earth, charred logs, leaves, and old mats. It is common to all Timbira tribes.

354 The fireplaces of the age classes in the plaza do not serve for the preparation of food.

If a fire should go out nowadays and
372 there is no neighbor from whom one
177 could borrow a brand, the Indians strike fire with the Neobrazilian strike-a-light consisting of the tip of a cow horn, steel, and flint, with charred cotton for tinder. However, everybody is still familiar with the old drill (rą'ra) composed of two urucú staves. The drill itself is about ½-m. long, somewhat less than a finger's breadth, and terminates in a blunt point. The hearth is about of the same length and somewhat thicker. The pit of the hearth has a lateral groove, which, however, is sometimes lacking. (Fig. 2.) The driller sits down and presses the hearth against the ground with his feet (pl. 5, *c*). On trips to the plantations or to catch fish in the brook at night it is customary to take along firebrands.

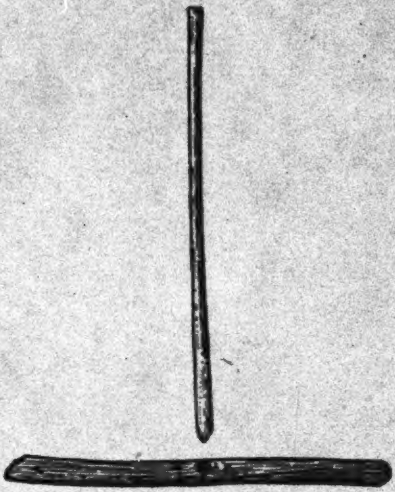

Fig. 2. Fire drill. ⅙ nat. size.

372 For blowing the fire into a flame the Indians use a fire fan (kapē'rēą), that is,
285 a quadrangular or hexagonal little mat of babassu, anajá, or bacaba palm grass (pl. 12, *a*). Occasionally it may also serve as a seat, for shoveling away offal, or for covering a pot.

462 It is the women's duty to fetch firewood, and usually one will invite another to
313 join her. But should there be a large, dry log that is too heavy, a man will often do the carrying.

The origin of fire is explained in a myth which I have recorded with only minor
773 variations among the Rąmkö'kamekra, Krẽyé of Bacabal, Apinayé, and Šerente.[illegible]

Special structures.—Apart from ceremonial huts, which are always removed after the festive season, I observed the following structures in Ponto. Somewhat
343 behind and on one side of the house inhabited by the widowed chief Kukrãčą' and
437 his kinswomen there stood under a roof (fornyũkwa; from Portuguese *forno*,
177 roasting pan) a huge copper roasting pan for the preparation of manioc flour; it rested on four wooden legs driven into the ground. The chief had received it as a gift from an Indian friend some twenty-five years ago. It was used by all the villagers, who in return gave the chief some of the flour they prepared. In Pedra

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 154 *et seq.*, 1939.

177

437 Branca (pl. 1, *a*) the Krahô′ had a similar hut, which stood about three hundred 343 meters behind the circle of houses.

Several Indians engaged in pig breeding had erected well-built roofs 2 m. square under which the beasts could sleep in bad weather if they so chose; they were not 343 forcibly enclosed there. The tame taitetú pigs always used for ceremonial slaughter 231 at certain festivities are kept in cages 1 m. high, which the owners generally put up in front of their houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. A cage consists of upright poles roofed with palm fronds.

The few Indians who raise fowls keep them behind the dwelling in little gable 343 roofs resting directly on the ground and constructed of poles, pieces of bark, and 235 old mats. At night they are barred with pieces of wood. The structure, like the 177 poultry itself, was borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

The exceptional little stall for strangers which the Apą′nyekra put up in Porquinhos has been mentioned (p. 40). No Timbira tribe has a men's or bachelors' 345 house corresponding to the warã of the Akwẽ-Šerénte.[illegible] Meetings are held in the 171 plaza outdoors, which is also the general sleeping place of the young men.

Away from the village the Rąmkô′kamekra, so far as they require any form of 342 shelter, erect the following forms of hut. If the cultivated plots are far away, a hut is put up for the period that requires the owners' presence. Such a structure 361 is not erected in the plantation itself, but in the steppe in front of the *galeria* forest. Usually it is rectangular and gable-roofed, smaller and less massive than the fixed dwellings. However, occasionally the old beehive type (ikré yiróno) occurs—a hemispherical form about 1.80 m. in height inside. The framework consists of eight or more thin trunks stuck into the ground in a circle and bent together at the top, the branches being interlaced into walls, or—rarely—tied together. There are no special horizontal hoops. This skeleton is covered round about with palm fronds, their tips up, their ribs in vertical position; other fronds are laid on top crisscross. This shelter, if carefully set up, is altogether rainproof except for some leakage at the bottom. On one side there is left an entrance 1½ m. in height.

Similar, but as a rule less carefully built, are the huts of temporary encampments, such as all the steppe Timbira erect when large companies of them are hunting or away for some special task. In that case the arrangement of the huts is uniformly circular, all doors facing the center, and the female owners observe the same order that prevails in the village. These huts are made exclusively by the [462] women; even men who camp beyond the settlement without their families never erect such structures (pl. 7, *a*).

The question now arises: Did the Timbira originally have only such beehive huts 174 or did they have larger, substantial dwellings in their fixed villages? Several facts 342 support the latter alternative. The beehive huts cannot accommodate either the regular platform beds or the elevated compartments of the young girls, or an ex- 361 tended family. Further, it would be impossible to shelter the boys in a single house on the east or west side during the first stage of initiation, for even in 1930 there were twice sixteen novices among the Rąmkô′kamekra, and the number was doubtless larger in former times. It would be equally impossible to put up a special cell in a beehive hut for one or more boys at the terminal phase of initiation. Moreover, a beehive hut could not serve as the meeting place of any of the festive societies, with their membership ranging from 15 to 30; and to an even greater extent does the vų'tę′ institution (p. 92) require large houses, for in 1933 the number of men who assembled was 54 and 57, respectively. I am convinced that if all these cere-

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[illegible] Nimuendajú and Lowie, 408.

177 342 361 monials had formerly been held outdoors or in specially erected structures, the usage would have survived in at least the majority of the cases. On the other hand, the localization of the ceremonies in definite houses of the village circumference indicates that they have taken place there since ancient times. However, it is impossible to determine at present what form these houses originally had. Nowadays the Indians assert that they always had the same shape as today, which is certainly contrary to fact.

342 Besides the rectangular gable-roofed and the beehive types, the Eastern Timbira employ a number of simpler types of shelter. There are oblique wind screens of palm fronds set against a pole placed horizontally in the branches of two neighboring trees or resting on forked posts. Instead the leaves may be set into the ground in a semicircle, yielding a semiconical wind screen, such as Snethlage observed and as I have several times seen as the first shelter on a house site within a newly laid out village. Rectangular frames resting horizontally at a man's height on forked posts and covered with a few transverse poles and fronds are seen only at festivals on the open steppe; they share the name of the windscreen, ikrépo. Neobrazilians, too, always put them up beside their houses during a celebration. They are sunshades which afford no protection from rain.

484 345 Single travelers obliged to spend the night outdoors or surprised by a storm en route cover the top of a bush with branches and palm fronds for a shelter. Or they fasten together the fronds of two appropriately distant paty palm shrubs without cutting them off and thus form a sort of sentry box. During prolonged ceremonies in the plaza the spectators often make mats into sunshades by leaning them against any prop planted into the ground, such as a bow or sword club, or against their own backs.

342 Finally, at the east end of the Serra do Noquem, eighteen kilometers south of the Krahõ' village of Pedra Branca, I saw a cave which these Indians occasionally used as a shelter and there were fireplaces at the entrance.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 Formerly both sexes in all Timbira groups were completely unclothed. For the most part the men still go naked. In such villages as Ponto, through which Neobrazilians frequently pass, the Indians generally keep at hand a piece of cloth the size of a handkerchief, which they thrust in front of their girdles when obliged to meet civilized folk to whom they consider this concession necessary. With the visitor's departure, however, the cloth is promptly removed, twisted together and tied round the forehead, the upper arm, the handle of a club, or the end of a bow.

Pųkóbye girls still go stark naked until puberty. In other tribes the majority when about six years old, though some not before the tenth year, begin to cover the hips with a piece of cloth extending approximately to the knees and knotted or turned down at the left hip (pl. 3, *b*). Among the Krahõ' some wear only a small strip like the men's. Except at dances, Rąmkõ'kamekra women or young girls rarely appear without this garment nowadays, but when by themselves they frequently remove it. The men inveigh against this offensive but growing feminine custom of constantly wearing a loincloth. During one dance I saw the chiefs summon a man and order him to remove the loincloths of all women performers, who offered not the least resistance.

291 177 Such appurtenances of civilization as trousers, shirts, and skirts appear most frequently among the Kre'pų'mkateye and the Timbira of Araparytiua.

At present a number of Rąmkõ'kamekra men constantly wear a leather belt with

291 a metal lock. Attached to it in the back is something like a miniature leather cartridge case of almost cubical form which serves to dispose of their smoking outfit and
177 other trifles; and if anyone owns a bush-knife, that too hangs from his belt. All the young men now covet such a belt, regarding the lidded shoulder bag plaited of burity bast (itself a loan from the Neobrazilians) as appropriate only for their elders. The use of this baldric does not antedate 1901, when forty warriors marched as allies of the Brazilian soldiers against the insurgent Guajajára. It is never worn in ceremonies.

Some men, but no women or children, wear sandals of cow leather, finding them very serviceable on their travels through the sun-baked sand, which is painful even for the Indians. This footgear is a quite recent loan from the Neobrazilians—in contrast to the aboriginal bast-cord sandals of the Akwẽ-Šerénte.

291 At about thirteen or fourteen the girls receive a girdle (mepre) composed of some thirty tucum threads barely a millimeter in thickness which have been very care-
882 fully and evenly twisted on the thigh; they are held together in one spot by wrap-
287 ping (pl. 10, *b*). The wearer steps into the girdle, with the wrapping in front. Ordinarily a mother gives this girdle to a daughter who has completed her term as auxiliary of some men's organization; and the young woman wears it until her first pregnancy, some resuming it subsequently on festive occasions. At present the Rạmkõ'kamekra girls mostly restrict its use to ceremonial times and dancing. On such occasions they wear only this garment, but generally, though not always, one
302 or more urucú leaves are thrust into it to cover the genitalia (pl. 3, *a*). When not in use this girdle usually rests coiled round the neck of a gourd bottle containing
831 the urucú seeds for body painting; this, with other toilet articles, is generally hung from one of the posts of the girl's elevated bed. Among the Põrekamekra, Pohl saw such girdles and interpreted them as a badge of virginity,[illegible] which does not hold for the Rạmkõ'kamekra, at least today. Formerly, to be sure, the girls of this tribe are said to have been married only after having received the girdle. A single girdle cord with frontal leaf, such as Pohl observed among the Põrekamekra, is rare among our Canella.

292 When visiting Barra do Corda the men generally wear trousers, more rarely nothing but a kilt. The women who have no complete dress cover themselves with a loincloth and a cover for the upper part of the body. As Snethlage, too, noted, they assume this costume only just before reaching the first houses of the town and immediately take it off on their departure.

648 As a matter of fact, these Indians consider clothing not merely inconvenient, but positively indecent, as illustrated by an experience in 1930. Encouraged by
291 my presence, some twenty Guajajára of both sexes decided to visit their old enemies
123 in Ponto. Precisely at the time when the councilors and I were assembled in the plaza at sunset the guests arrived, headed by their chief, José Rosa, who asked for me and was directed toward the plaza. Clad in boots, striped trousers, a shirt no longer white, a rather shabby black coat, and a little straw hat, he stepped among us naked, club-carrying savages and seated himself gingerly on a mat I pushed toward him. Then, however, he delivered a good speech: Assuming our permission, he had come to attend our festival (the second phase of initiation) in order that his and our tribe might henceforth live in peace and amity; the old hostilities were futile, etc. The assemblage listened in amiable mood, gave its consent, and sent him to a chief's dwelling, where he and his attendants received lodgement. Then we adjourned, each going home. At the door of her maternal home Kentapí, then

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[illegible] Pohl, Reise, 2:194.

648 291 123 about fifteen, was waiting for me, and her first words were: "Imagine that Guajajára not feeling ashamed to go to the plaza in *that* style!" In other words, it was the clothed Guajajára who should have been abashed before us naked men, not vice versa.

574 291 186 The Rąmkö'kamekra at first treated their visitors as boon companions. How to behave toward the slender, little and bashful women guests was a question, but the men were at once taken into the festive clubs and cordially invited to take part in all ceremonies, but without their trousers and loincloths. The hosts repeatedly urged their visitors to go naked, but the Guajajára always sheepishly evaded. The Canella took their guests bathing, in the expectation that then at last they would shed their clothes, but the Guajajára remained on dry land, merely watching from the bank. That was going too far, so the Canella secretly began mocking the visitors and gradually it dawned upon them that the strangers did not fit into their festive company and had to be got rid of before the beginning of the grand closing ceremony. Forthwith the councilors decided to cut off their provisions and simultaneously to tell them untruthfully that the ceremony would not start before ten days. Sure enough, José Rosa[1] appeared in the plaza three days later, announcing that he was very sorry not to be able to wait, that he had to look after his crops, and would leave the following morning, which he did, liberally supplied by his hosts with victuals for the journey.

292 826 All other bands worn around the forehead (pls. 9, *a–g;* 10 *a*), neck, chest, and waist (pl. 11, *a, b*), upper arm, wrists (pl. 11, *c, d;* cf. pl. 13, *b*), knees and ankles are not in constant use, but associated with ceremonial decoration, though a few young men like to appear with at least part of these paraphernalia on everyday occasions (pl. 3, *c, d*). No Canella dreams of putting on his knee bands (reddened with urucú like all decorative articles) with any great regularity from childhood on in order to affect the musculature of his legs. Such procedure would merely result in a still greater protrusion of the calves comparable to its effects among the ancient Island Caribs with their rigid bands; it certainly would not give to the lower leg "the desired slenderness" as Martius was told—presumably only to rationalize the name Canellas finas (p. 29).[123]

302 [177] *Hair.*—Except for the Western Gaviões and the tribes which, like the Gurupy groups and the Kre'pų'mkateye, have adopted the Neobrazilian style, all Eastern Timbira of both sexes and all ages dress their hair in identical fashion. Irrespective of mourners and people otherwise in seclusion, there were only two old people in Ponto who failed to cut their hair.

The hair is cut rather high on the forehead, close, and in a horizontal line. At the temples of the upraised head the trimmer continues to cut on both sides in an accurately horizontal line but so as to leave a distance of about 4 cm. between the ends of the lines cut, this space being called krąyimők. The hair is cut in a width of about one centimeter. Where the two hair furrows meet the forehead on either side, the lower corners are rounded off somewhat by removal of hair. Unless smoothed with oil, the coarse, stiff Indian hair then rises more or less shaggy above the furrows, simulating at a distance a cap. The hair about the temples is cut off at the level of the auditory meatus, so that it forms a sort of ear muff (yiré). The occipital hair (krąkatút) is allowed to grow long, but its length greatly varies with individuals, sometimes descending almost to the waist.

Strangely enough, neither Pohl nor Snethlage has noted the occipital gap in the hair furrow that distinguishes Eastern from Western (=Apinayé) Timbira style.[124]

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[123] Spix and Martius, 2:822.

[124] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 169.

1[i.e. the chief of the Guajajára --- Analyst.]

302 Further, it is necessary to correct some errors that have crept into the literature
114 concerning Timbira hairdressing. Notwithstanding assertions by Kissenberth and
Snethlage,[illegible] who oddly agree on this, the Canella never cut their hair in mourning;
765 the exact contrary holds, as demonstrated in plate 7, *b*. Moreover, as proved by
dozens of my pictures, women and children dress the hair in exactly the same fashion
as the men; Snethlage thus errs in declaring that they merely comb their hair
away from the face or cut it above the forehead. Oil paintings by the Dutch artist
Eckhout which are in the National Museum of Copenhagen suggest that the Otshukayana
of Rio Grande do Norte also wore the hair furrow in the seventeenth century.
(See pl. 21.) The occipital hair of the Timbira is never braided into a pigtail;
[301] a little grass fanlike ornament (hivakúi) (pl. 20, *b*) merely serves to ligature the
bunch of occipital hair. A person with very long hair may gather it together, lay
the tip up on the back of the head, and secure it there with string. However, this
custom—like the use of the hivakúi—is peculiar to men about to engage in a particularly
difficult undertaking—formerly, above all when going to battle; and as
soon as anyone is seen indulging in the practice he is immediately questioned by
everybody as to his plans.

302 No man's hair is cut by another. The task devolves primarily on his mother, his
sisters, female cousins and nieces; his wife may tend to the matter provided it is
462 not a ceremonial cut at the close of a period of mourning or seclusion. Because of
177 this rule men who have been away for a long time have the furrow completely
obliterated by the new growth of hair. On their begging trips, however, they usually
fall into the hands of some civilized barber who spoils their coiffure for the period
of several months.

302 No attention is paid to the clipped hair, which they either allow to lie about or
throw on the garbage, for the Eastern Timbira and the Apinayé do not share the
widespread Indian belief that fragments severed from the body can be used in sorcery.
On the other hand, the Rąmkō'kamekra believe that a person who has secured
[832] another's hair from the temples thereby is certain of being loved by him or her,
for which reason such hair is sometimes clipped clandestinely. The hair cut from
women's occiputs at certain festivals is united in a long bundle and hung on a
tree in front of the village, whence I was able to carry it off at will. Several times
I received the present of a neck-and-forehead ornament consisting of hair tufts
mounted brushlike in feather quills or small bamboo tubes.

[804] The Canella have double combs (koiké) composed of little rods (pl. 20, *a*), but
today they serve only ceremonial purposes; a norm based on the length of the rods
305 is used in the manufacturing. For practical purposes these combs have been superseded
177 by those of European and Neobrazilian make, but several men, for example,
321 chief Ropką', are themselves able to produce such modern combs out of horn, and
these prove far more durable than the purchased articles, which very soon lose their
tines in the thick Indian hair.

302 The people pay a fair amount of attention to their hair. They wash it while bathing
303 by rubbing it between the palms of their hands, and oil it with the oleaginous
juice of chewed babassu seeds, which is spat into their hands and then rubbed on
the hair. The very greasy beetle larvae that live within the seeds are crushed between
the palms and then also used for oiling the hair. Head lice (ikó) occur, especially
among children, but have long ceased to be general. I am positive that a considerable
562 number of adults lack them. Anyone becoming aware of lice has his wife or
some kinswoman look for them; this person puts them on the palm of her hands.

[illegible] Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 48. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 148.

562 licks them up with the tip of her tongue and eats them. Men never indulge in this quest.

826 302 Long hair in the back is considered beautiful in both sexes. Negro hair is regarded as repulsive; on the other hand, these Indians esteem the fine-textured, smooth hair of pure whites as at least equal in beauty to their own and take delight in stroking it.

[824] Even tribes, like the Gurupy Timbira, who have long since abandoned the ancient mode of hairdessing, still remove eyebrows and lashes. Long eyebrows "like a dog's" are abhorrent to the Canella; they are torn out with the tips of the fingers, which have first been dipped into ashes. In order to avoid unremitting criticism I felt compelled to shave my eyebrows from time to time. An ordinary two-fiber tucum thread serves to remove the eyelashes. A man will hold his hands at a distance of a few centimeters on the thread, twist it so that the fibers separate, then enclose the tips of the lashes with them, tightly twist the thread together again, and jerk off the lashes. Another device is to use the long seeds of the steppe grass, which are provided with a sharp, though barely visible barb. No man ever removes another's 562 eyebrows or lashes; he either does it himself with the aid of a mirror or has some woman do it for him.

[832] Axillary or pubic hair, which appears late and almost always remains scanty, is generally allowed to grow unhindered. However, young girls and, more particularly, village wantons often pluck out the first pubic hair, this being reckoned elegant. Kukẽnkwę'i, one of the wantons never absent from any festivity of the wakõkama age class, had her pubic hair gently, though forcibly, removed by her friends and age mates at the command of the class leader, Ropką' junior, as they triumphantly reported to me afterward.

According to Pohl, the Põrekamekra of old removed all body hair.[136]

The beard is not plucked out except by young unmarried men provided it should appear at that age, which is a very rare occurrence. Otherwise it is allowed to grow; but whiskers, which hardly ever sprout, are considered ugly.

304 881 *Perforation of ear lobes.*—Perforated ear lobes (hapakkre) and the hair furrow constitute the most important national badges of the Timbira, the Eastern tribe limiting the perforating of ear lobes to boys. Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra I have often witnessed this operation, which is obligatory before the final initiation phase, but not otherwise fixed in time. Usually it falls into the first phase of the second half of the initiation cycle, that is, when the boys are from ten to fifteen years old and still sexually pure. Snethlage's estimate of six to seven years[137] is thus too low.

[413] The operators, of whom Ponto has three, function simply as experts in this procedure, playing no other part by virtue of their practice. Every boy is operated on separately in his maternal home without any previous preparation. He is made to sit on a mat where there is proper illumination, with either parent behind him and resting both of his or her hands on the lad's shoulders. The perforator, provided with a wooden pin (fig. 3), a gourd bowl holding urucú pigment (pl. 20, *a*), and a pair of bamboo rods the thickness of a match, squats before the subject. He cuts off the hair about the boy's temples, kneads the lobe between his finger tips, dips the tip of his pin into the urucú, and thus marks the spot to be punctured, all this being done with deliberate meticulousness. The perforator leans back to make sure that the spot is in the right place. Taking one of the red bamboo plugs between his lips, he once more seizes the pin and slowly twists it, making an orifice the diameter of a lead pencil, whereupon he immediately inserts the plug. I have

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[136] Pohl, Reise, 2:192.

[137] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 150.

304 881 never seen the victim move a muscle. After going through the same process on th other ear and after smearing urucú over the wounds, the man forthwith puts a cloth over the boy's head and knots it together below his chin. There is no solemnity about the event; half a dozen boys and girls of the type that want to see everythin will look on with interest, otherwise no one pays the least attention. But the operator and the patient both must keep a diet and abstain from any hard labor until the wounds are healed. If time is pressing, it happens that half a dozen boys hav their ears pierced on one day or within a few days. In that case they jointly tak their meals in front of the village, observing their diet. My query as to the material used before cloth came into vogue remained unanswered.

Over a week after the operation, when the wounds are healed, the boy's maternal uncle goes hunting and kills a deer, smokes its flesh outside the village, wraps it in leaves, and places it in a basket. Unannounced he suddenly dashes toward th plaza with his load, drops it there, and departs. At once all the women except thos of the boy's household rush out with knives, each trying to snatch away a slice of the game, though because of their great number only a few succeed. There is a regular scrimmage, so that on one occasion a competitor got a slashed hand instead of a share in the meat. In another instance the women caught sight of the hunte at a distance, pounced upon him, and snatched away the game long before h could get to the plaza; on this occasion a woman had her nose gashed.

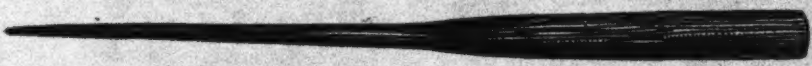

Fig. 3. Lobe perforator: wooden pin. Slightly less than ½ nat. size.

Gradually the orifice is widened by the insertion of successively thicker rod of bamboo and later of wood. As soon as the diameter attains about 4 cm., th further widening is produced by inserting the two index fingers and turning the around each other. It is, above all, the youths secluded during the last phase o initiation who strive for a maximum diameter, but there is great variability fro

304 171 tribe to tribe and from individual to individual. The Western Gaviões perfora their ears, but do not seem to wear strikingly large plugs; and according to Pohl the Põrekamekra specimens were only half an inch in diameter.[illegible] Those of th Kre'pų'mkateye do not exceed 3.5 cm.; on the other hand, the largest plugs, with a diameter up to 10 cm., occur among the Krahô' and the Ŗamkô'kamekra and in former times they are said to have been still larger. All of the older Ŗamkô'kamekra recalled a tribesman with plugs of such dimensions that they would clash together in the back of his neck as he ran. My pictures at the last initiation illustrate the variability in size (pl. 4, *a–c*).

304 832 When the plugs are of the largest size, the lobe of the ears forms a strip barely 5 mm. in width that encircles the outer margin as an endless band does its wheel. Such disks (kúi) are the youth's pride and the women's delight. In describing the handsome young man of a tale the narrator will stress the size of his plugs: ther is a story about one hero whose disks were so large that he would take them out t sit on them as a stool. Spirally coiled palm leaflets, such as Pohl reports from th Põrekamekra,[illegible] supersede plugs only in the case of medium-sized holes.

304 When the ear has attained the desired extension, the disk is generally worn only for festive adornment, the lobe normally forming a flapping loop, which is accordingly as a rule slung over the upper edge of the helix. Occasionally some acciden

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[illegible] Pohl, Reise, 2:191.

[illegible] Pohl, Reise. 2:192.

304 may cause the loop of skin to tear, henceforth preventing the wearing of ear ornaments since they are never used singly. Pąnhí, once taking over a huge burity log from another racer's shoulders while dashing past, suffered this misfortune. He did not notice anything before passing on the log, when the blood was dripping on his shoulder. I have never heard of the Canella healing the torn ear after the fashion of the Apinayé.

The ordinary plugs are disks of some light (weight) wood, an inch in thickness
301 and dyed red only on the edge. For a ceremony a thick layer of white clay is put
531 on the face of the earplug, which is mostly decorated with black and red designs. There are ringlike plugs of thick bamboo and also wooden disks with round central holes that are sometimes sufficiently large to suggest rings; at times a corded tassel, dyed red, is inserted. The youth in plate 4, *a* has stuck a bit of tobacco twist into the orifice of his plug, not for magical purposes, but simply because the ceremonial costume precludes the use of a pouch for storage. In other plugs the holes have the form of a Greek or Maltese cross. Very rare are heavy plugs of hardened white clay with violet marble-like veins; I have seen them only from the Rąmkō'kamekra, the material being apparently restricted to the Serra do Alpercatas in their territory. (Pl. 13, *a*.)

Among the Krikatí and Pųkóbye I have seen plugs with four little mother-of-pearl disks cemented into the anterior surface. The Rąmkō'kamekra have such inserts of mirror glass, but only rarely.

From Pųkóbye I obtained a pair of paca incisors said to be insets for earplugs. I have never seen such in use among the Eastern Timbira, but observed them at Apinayé initiations. The ear rosettes of the Karayá also bear this ornamentation.

304 *Labrets; incisors.*—Except for the Western Gaviões the lower lip is no longer perforated by any Eastern Timbira tribe. The Rąmkō'kamekra told me that until
171 not very long ago the Eastern Gaviões (Pųkóbye) also had perforated lips. In a mixed company of Krahō' and Apą'nyekra Martius saw the older people wearing labrets in the form of shining cylinders of yellow rosin or alabaster; they were from 1½ to 3 inches in length and could be easily extracted. Since Pohl, who in the same year saw numerous Krahō', noted only ears perforated, the labret wearers must have been Apą'nyekra, though their present descendants know nothing of such decoration. For the Pōrekamekra Pohl explicitly denies perforation of the lip.

Among the Rąmkō'kamekra, Apą'nyekra, and Krahō' the upper incisors of children of both sexes are very often tapped into pointed form with a knife and a little mallet. The practice is rare among the other Eastern Timbira.

304 The reverse holds for tattooing, which is very rare among the former, but some-
177 what more frequent among the Krikatí and Pųkóbye. Doubtless borrowed from the Neobrazilians, the decoration as a rule consists merely of a few plain lines or copies of letters on the forearm; it is executed with iron needles and genipa.

386 *Pigments.*—The Canella have five pigments: 1, black, from rubber latex with powdered charcoal; 2, red, from urucú seeds; 3, yellow, from the juice of the urucú
828 root; 4, bluish black, from the juice of the genipa fruit; 5, white clay. Of these,
517 the first three are applied both to the body and to objects; the fourth serves only to decorate the body; the fifth, with few exceptions, only for objects.

Red urucú, the most common, at once attracts every visitor's notice by its omni-

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Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 42.

Krause, In den Wildnissen Brasiliens, 224.

Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:819.

Pohl, Reise, 2:211.

Ibid., 2:191.

386 828 577 presence. The Indian himself and everything he owns are more or less red with urucú. Whatever they take hold of turns red, as does anyone living among them. The urucú stain on an article is not conceived as dirt, but as an embellishment. Any trace of earth on prepared food is removed by scraping and washing, yet no one dreams of attempting this with the imprint of the cook's ten digits. The Indians grow irritated if civilized people voice disparaging comments about the use of urucú; any person or article reeking with the pigment is a thing of beauty. A collection of ethnographica from any Timbira tribe is marked by the varying red, brownish-red, and yellowish-red tints of urucú. Especially when fresh the pigment emits a strong odor which civilized observers identify as "stench," while it delights the Indian's nostrils no less than the red color pleases his eyes. Naturally the odor is attached to the Timbira himself and all his belongings.

386 249 [522] In order to have the pigment constantly available the urucú shrub (pų; *Bixa orellana*) is planted beside or behind the dwelling. The red pigment, forming the thin layer of a moist mass, surrounds the seeds in their capsules. The Indians either gather fresh capsules from the shrub according to need or harvest the mature capsules, removing the seeds for storage in gourd bottles, which are plugged with stoppers. More particularly it is the young girls who always keep such bottles suspended by their beds. Men never own them since they are always painted by the other sex. After a while the pigmented mass dries on the seeds; then it is necessary to prepare the coloring matter with the oily juice of babassu seeds. The urucú seeds are poured into the hollow of the hand, the juice of the chewed babassu seeds is expectorated over them, and the mixture is rubbed between the flat palms. The pigment thus produced is removed with the finger or a little rod, either for immediate use or for storage in a little gourd bowl (pl. 14, *m*). These small urucú gourds, suspended from the back by a plaited cord, are the badge of the girl associates (p. 96), whose duty it is to paint the members of their festive organization. The pigment remains visible even after several baths.

Another mode of preparation is derived from the Guajajára: after the washing of the seeds the fluid is condensed by boiling; roundish lumps are molded from the soapy mass; and these are wrapped in leaves or cloth. However, the older generation spurn this innovation because the urucú loses its odor in boiling. Chief Kukrăčą' objected in my presence when his niece wanted to paint him with pigment thus prepared and sent her for fresh capsules.

777 751 Urucú is not only beautiful, but also useful, being credited with antiseptic (p. 50) and prophylactic virtues. Going to a pool for my morning bath before daybreak on one occasion, I met my hąpínpey, Čątú, who was about to start on a hunting trip. (See p. 100 f.) He was carrying a gourd bowl with a handful of urucú seeds, which he mixed with water; then he drank the red liquid, declaring it would give him luck in the chase. He insisted on my taking a few drafts; eagerly overruling my objection that I had no intention of going after game, he informed me that that made no difference: urucú was good for *any* purpose, it was impossible to use enough of it. Whenever I obtained urucú for my collection, I was generally admonished to employ it extensively.[illegible]

302 As a matter of fact, the effect of the red pigment on the Indian's dark skin is very agreeable, but, on a North European it is too showy. The Ponto women, however, had the contrary impression: unable to understand my wish to rid myself of my coat of urucú from time to time by washing it off with soap, they imagined that I wanted to be quickly and more effectively repainted. A man's kinswomen

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Social Structure, 52.

302 are blamed if he should go about unpainted for a considerable period. "So-and-so's sister," gossips will say, "does not look out a bit for her brother! Just look! He has not a particle of urucú on his body!"

Since the preparation of urucú reddens one's hands in any case, the coarser ornamentation on the body is executed with the fingers and palms, little rods being [413] reserved for the fine red lines of the face paint. Stamps and painting-forks are never used in this connection.

These devices are employed however with the black rubber pigment, which is 386 prepared from the latex of a low steppe tree (*Sapium* sp.). A branch is generally 302 hacked off and barked at home. The juice (arą'mhõk) oozing out of the bast is gathered into a gourd bowl, where it may be immediately mixed with powdered charcoal. Alternatively, the pure latex may be painted on the surface, the powder being rubbed in subsequently. Paint of this type often remains visible for a week, and one rarely sees a Timbira without at least some traces of it. Fróes Abreu[100] has described this pigment, whereas Snethlage ignores it, obviously taking all black paint to be genipa.

Genipa, though used very rarely, is obligatory at certain ceremonies. The apple-like fruits of the genipa tree (porti; *Genipa americana*) are gathered and bisected, then the halves are put into the fire with the plane of bisection on top. As soon as they are heated, one crushes the core with a little rod so that the juice accumulates in the rind, and applies it with a little cotton at the end of a stick. At first the effect remains colorless, but after a few hours the paint turns blackish blue, persisting for over two weeks on unexposed skin. Snethlage mistakenly reports that the stem of the shrub provides the pigment and that there is an admixture of a fine oil.[101]

Only on a single occasion—the terminal solemnity of the final initiation phase—have I been able to observe the use of the yellow pigment derived from the urucú root for bodily decoration. On the other hand, it is applied more than others to the ornamentation of pouches and mats of burity bast.

531 The ceremonial combs and the cotton wristlets of the girl associates, as well as 301 the anterior surfaces of earplugs, are colored with white clay. The latter have black and red designs on the white background. White clay I have seen applied [302] as body paint only at the ceremony after the return of a girls' collecting expedition into the steppe and at the hõčwa celebration (p. 63).

302 The black rubber and the red urucú paint are applied in everyday life, either each by itself for a complete coating or in combination; but complex designs are only executed on special occasions. The ordinary painting is that described by Snethlage: on the front and the back of the body, on the right and the left side, there is a broad vertical stripe in black, with a red one in the middle. The hands and feet are never painted black, but invariably red. The face paint usually comprises vertical red strokes across the forehead, bridge of the nose, mouth, and chin; or across the forehead, eyes, and cheeks; likewise horizontal lines at the corners of [886] the eyes and mouth. The older men do not paint at all after the day of their last log race, nor do old women decorate themselves in this way. Little children are [856] most frequently painted black all over, a procedure supposed to promote their growth.

413 The Canella painting outfit is comparatively multiform (pl. 14). In addition to 302 the above-mentioned little rods and the brushes made of a cotton wad on a stick,

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531 [100] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras. 183.

[101] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 149.

413 302 531 there are wooden forks with from two to five tines for drawing parallel lines. Further, there are four distinct types of stamps: (1) For dots. For dotted lines the forks or similar implements are used; dots forming stars, rectangles, etc., are stamped with the ends of appropriately carved rods. (2) Round stamps, mainly for star-shaped designs, generally consist of halved palm (especially babassu) nuts and are most commonly used. An ingenious woman utilised her husband's ear disk, which had a Maltese cross in openwork. (3) Stamps for stripes. These usually consist of a plano-convex piece of burity leafstalk, the level surface being carved with the designs, while the convex side has two excised parts opposite each other which aid the fingers in manipulating the implement. Other stamps of this category are of hardwood and of rectangular section, with a different pattern on each side. Sometimes a grip projects in the direction of the axis on each narrow face of such four-plane stamps. (4) Roller stamps, of cylindrical form with spindle. They may quite possibly be aboriginal, for the racing logs called pǫ′rakahą′k exhibit the same form.

[881] Notwithstanding the extensive development of body paint, the ornamentation marks social units only in a few cases. Thus, each of the plaza groups paints those of its members graduating from the second phase of initiation with a special pattern at the terminal celebration; and the rainy season moieties are recognizable by their paint. On the other hand, the exogamous moieties, the age classes, and the festive organizations lack distinctive paint, except for the leader and the girl associates of the Jaguar society.

302 237 765 *Gluing of down and paty wool.*—Falcon down is glued on the body exclusively for ceremonial decoration (pl. 7, *c*), being obligatory at a number of solemn procedures, whereas no one ever has himself decorated with feathers for his personal pleasure. At the close of the ketúaye and the pepkahą′k seclusion all participants are ornamented with falcon down. At other terminal solemnities and outstanding ceremonies it is as a rule the officiating members of the hąmrén who are thus distinguished. Above all, the tamhą′k at their great ceremony during the pepkahą′k festival all appear with the falcon-down decoration reserved for their use. Further, at the end of the mourning period for a deceased or absent tribesman, or after prolonged and serious illness, the hąmrén present themselves in their down ornamentation before the councilors in the plaza; the corpse of the hąmrén is similarly honored. Whenever the hąmrén are thus decorated, each cheek bears two small black triangles in close juxtaposition, the pigment being derived from almecega resin and pulverized charcoal.

223 The ketúaye initiation and the pepkahą′k festival require the simultaneous decoration of some thirty persons with falcon down, hence special hunting trips have to be arranged in order to obtain the necessary quantity. The Indians then set the steppe afire, the smoke enticing the falcons, whose down is subsequently stowed away in small, narrow-mouthed gourd vessels, from which it is extricated with a little rod.

302 237 788 I know of but a single instance of parrot down as a substitute for that of a falcon. Oddly enough, this happened in the case of a little boy impersonating a young falcon.

The down is glued on by a hąpín (p. 102), invariably in the wearer's maternal house, to the chanting of the operator, who receives a present for his labor. The solitary exception occurs at ketúaye, the novices being decorated by members of their plaza unit (menkąčą). Before the operation the subject's hair is always trimmed.

302 237 The upper margin of the decorated surface is marked by an obtuse angle between the shoulders, the apex lying below their level. From this boundary the decorator glues the down on the body so that it extends halfway down the forearm and lower part of the leg, leaving the genitalia free. The downless parts of the body, excepting usually the face, are reddened with urucú.

The tamhą'k do not wear the continuous down covering of others, but have, both in front and in back, two stripes the width of a hand, one on each side of the body. Each stripe extends from the clavicle or shoulder blade down to the middle of the lower leg. A somewhat narrower stripe of down is glued on the front and the back of each arm. At all joints the stripes are interrupted.

314 [137] 302 For gluing the down the Indians use the almecega resin of *Hedwigia balsamifera*, which has a very agreeable odor. This is the only pleasant feature in the procedure, which involves the chewing of babassu seeds and spitting the oily juice on the resin previously smeared over the palms of the hands. Rubbing the palms together produces a somewhat tough, yellow ointment, which is clapped on the subject's skin, and rubbed into it. Then another operator immediately dabs the falcon down on top. So long as the decoration is fresh the wearer looks rather attractive in his snow-white raiment of down. But soon after, especially after bathing, the covering grows very unsightly; however, its vestiges persist for over a week. Hairs, which it is true are almost lacking on the Indian skin, have a disagreeable way of adhering to one another because of the rosin, and wherever a man sits or lies down he gets stuck. I have a veritable horror of this procedure, but as a member of the tamhą'k organization am obliged to submit to it whenever I return to the tribe after a prolonged absence.

302 314 By scraping of the young leafstalks of the paty palm (*Orcus* sp.) one obtains a light pinkish-yellow wool that is stored and applied like falcon down. But while the Apinayé uniformly employ this material in place of falcon down, which is not customary among them, the Rąmkó'kamekra restrict its use to members of the Duck society.

301 237 177 *Miscellaneous.*—Finger rings (hukrǭčę) are constantly worn by both sexes. Originally they were black and inconspicuous, being made of the caudal skin of the chameleon (*Iguana tuberculata*) and the teyú (*Tupinambis teguixin*). Today men and women crave silver and brass rings of European make with glass stones. Whenever possible they overload themselves with these ornaments to an unesthetic degree, or suspend them from the necklace, this consisting nowadays mostly of glass beads and some pendant, which occasionally both sexes wear from infancy to

[137] old age. However, even today the seeds of a grass (*Scleria* sp.) are fashioned into beads to be strung. In order to be able to perforate them it is necessary to grind them to a point on a whetstone at one spot. This is effected with the aid of a fragment of *Lagenaria* bowl with a little opening just large enough to have the curvature of the *Scleria* seed project somewhat when it is put on top. The worker seizes the slightly bent bowl, presses the seed on top of the hole with the tip of the index finger, and grinds off the projecting curvature.

[751] Infants often also wear wrist and ankle cords with pendent bits of all sorts of wood and roots or little bones and seeds, to which medicinal virtues are ascribed. Wristbands (merpače) of babassu grass are worn by girls and young men; only the men wear bands of the same material on the upper arm and forehead, as well as knee bands of either cotton or babassu grass (pls. 3, *c*, *d*; 11, *c*, *d*):

Hygiene

515 Unless subject to taboos, both sexes bathe at least once a day, the younger people twice or three times. If all the residents are assembled during the vų'tų' period, the younger generation take their first bath jointly before sunrise as soon as the youths' and maidens' dance in the plaza abruptly comes to a stop. At that moment all dash toward the brook, including the girls, who have quickly fetched their gourd bottles. Men and women of mature age are also in the habit of joining, but those really old rarely come, if at all. The girls go directly upstream, take up a position counter to the current, and fill their vessels, everyone laughing and splashing about. At this early hour the air is piercing cold on the steppe, and precisely before sunrise a gust of wind is likely to make the bathers shiver as they get out of their bath. In order to get warm everybody rushes up the slope toward the village. But the members of whatever festive organizations happen to be functioning assemble halfway to the settlement around fires, for which they have already brought along dry palm grass. Only after having warmed themselves they run shouting, each society separately, into the village, where each occupies its appropriate site in the plaza.

During the day they generally bathe again, performing their ablutions by rubbing themselves with their hands or with leaves. After nightfall they avoid entering the water. The hair, as noted, is washed by rubbing it between the palms. Notwithstanding their efforts the skin rarely appears wholly clean, for it usually retains remnants of old body paint, feathers glued on, and the like—the sort of
[854] things regarded as dirt by civilized people. Babies at the breast are the cleanest part of the population, for they are washed without delay as soon as they are dirty.

The oral cavity is cleansed with the index and middle fingers and rinsed with sand. They never clean their fingernails.

[857] When at most three years old the Rąmkṓ'kamekra boys and girls know how to
swim and dive. I observed that the Krahṓ', Kre'pų'mkateye, and the Timbira of
481 Araparytíua were all good swimmers, and the same has been reported of the
171 Pŏrekamekra.[illegible] On the other hand, I had a different impression of the Krĩkatí,
who do not live along running watercourses and of whom I suspect at least some are unable to swim. At all events they manifested a striking repugnance to deep water, as I noted repeatedly when they accompanied me from their village to Porto Franco on the Tocantins. At the Ribeirão da Aldea, whose wooded bank was somewhat more than knee-deep under water, while in midstream the water of the brook did not extend beyond my saddle, these Indians cut off sticks to take soundings ahead of them, and I had long reached the opposite bank when I still heard them splashing behind me and excitedly shouting at one another. They talked of the Ribeirão dos Arraias, which is 20 m. wide and 1½ deep, as though it were an insurmountable obstacle; and the successful crossing took an eternity, for each of the women had to be led across by two men. Still more amusing was the passage of the shallow, but swift streamlet known as Lageado in a canoe belonging to a Neobrazilian. At first no one ventured to step into it, and when the first hero hesitantly and diffidently succumbed to my mockery, his wife kept singing in a booming voice on the bank till she saw him safely on land.

356 The dwellings are in general tolerably cleanly. Every self-respecting woman will
412 sweep her house and the space before it at least once a day—even several times if
the offals after a meal require it. The brooms are made of the inflorescence of the
[137] assaky (*Euterpe* sp.) or the bacaba palm (*Oenocarpus* sp.), or a bundle of mallow

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Pohl, Reise, 2:200 f.

Ge S25

T 356 412 twigs tied together. Garbage is accumulated on the firefan or an old mat and carried to the border of the steppe, to the rear of the house. However, there are women who are not particular about a little dirt more or less, and who will leave the rinds of fruits and gnawed bones lying about all day long.

T 356 751 The domestic vermin include crickets, cockroaches, small ants, and jiggers. The first two are simply put up with. As for ant nests, the Indians try to destroy them with hot water; and as soon as they become aware of jiggers, they periodically pour water on the floor, which they stamp on till it grows firm. Those which have penetrated the skin are removed with a bone needle—for which at present an iron one may be substituted.

T 264 515 All utensils are rather dirty, *for it never occurs to them to clean objects before* storage. The clothing that is obligatory on visits to Barra do Corda is subsequently stowed away for one's own or another's future use without attention to the accumulated dirt and perspiration. Dishes are never washed after use, though this is done before again using them. Storage bags and sleeping mats are often filthy, though the latter are washed when the dirt grows too offensive.

T 514 The Indians go to stool in the steppe or in the mallow bushes to the rear of their houses, at an adequate distance. They clean themselves with kerneled maize cobs or with two little sticks broken off on the way. The feces of infants in the house or on the space before it are at once strewn with sand and removed.

T [828] The Canella are very sensitive as to evil smells, though they do not always perceive the same things as stench as civilized people. As noted, they regard as pleasant the odor of urucú, from which Neobrazilians recoil, and they are strangely indifferent to the odor of the skunk (*Mephitis suffocans*), which to my nostrils is the most horrible to be found in the Timbira country. However, excrements and putrefying matter are intolerable to them and are removed posthaste.

T 827 516 Breaking wind is considered indecorous indoors, but rather a pleasure on the steppe or in the plaza among the younger generation. Indeed, young girls sometimes vie with one another in this respect and try to enhance the effect by hitting their own buttocks with their clenched fists. However, this happens only among themselves, never in the presence of older people.

G T

FARMING

177 241 114 It is erroneous to picture the Gê generically as hunters and gatherers, with at best an occasional group adopting a little cultivation under Tupí influence.[illegible] Actually, not a single Akwẽ or Timbira-Kayapó tribe failed to farm; and as to the latter, at least, I am convinced that they learnt nothing from the Tupí about agriculture. Old travelers sometimes decree that such and such a tribe lived "only by hunting" or even "by robbery only." Thus, Saint-Adolphe alleges that the Apinayé had grown accustomed to a vegetable diet only through the plantations made by the military colony of São João de Araguaya (founded in 1797). He overlooked the passage in which Villa Real—four years prior to the establishment of that colony—urged a treaty of peace with the Apinayé on the ground of their cultivating manioc on a large scale.[illegible]

T 241 177 114 Following Ribeiro and Pohl, Snethlage states that the Timbira when first in contact with civilization already practiced a well-defined system of tillage and rightly surmises that the four species listed by Ribeiro do not exhaust the number of their crops. At present the Ramkö'kamekra plant the following species, which shall be

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[illegible] For a typical expression of this view see Schmidt, Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Südamerika, 1933.

[illegible] Viagem, 409.

Ge SL5

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241 divided (according to their own account) into those anciently known and those
177 adopted after intercourse with Neobrasilians.

114 *Aboriginally known:*

[137]

Maize, pôhy (*Zea mays*)
Sweet potato, yǫt (*Batatas edulis*)
Yam, krẽ'ẽ (*Dioscorea sp.*)
Manioc, kwy̨r (*Manihot utilissima*)
Sweet manioc, kwy̨r-kahę'k (*Manihot aipi*)
Horse bean, pǫhkrỹ (*Phaseolus sp.*)
Arrowroot, kartare (*Maranta sp.*)
Gourd, hẽ'hẽ-kahę'k (*Cucurbita sp.*)
Ground nut, kahę (*Arachis sp.*)
[European name lacking], kupá (*Cissus sp.*)
Cotton, kadę't (*Gossypium sp.*)
Bottle gourd, hẽ'hẽ (*Lagenaria sp.*)
Cuyeté, hõ'hõ (*Crescentia sp.*)
Cuya de rama, —— (*Cucurbita sp.*)
Urucú, pų (*Bixa orellana*)

Adopted after intercourse with Neobrasilians:

Rice
Watermelon
Banana
Sugar-cane
Cayenne pepper
Beans
Orange
Lemon
Mango
Papaya
Pineapple
Tobacco
Tinguy (fish poison)

T

773 The only plant-origin myth relates to maize and coincides with the Apinayé equivalent.[illegible] It combines two principal motives—the world tree and the star wife.
171 The former occurs among Carib peoples of Guiana, having been recorded by Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipáng, by Brett among the Akawoí, by Im Thurn and
243 Roth for the Carib proper, while Nordenskiöld reports it from the Arawakan Čáne of the northern Chaco. The other motive seems to be derived from the Šerénte, who
T
6 far more logically connect it not with the origin of maize, but with a visit to the sky.

174 Nordenskiöld derives Gê yǫt (sweet potato) from Tupí yetį'k, which is supposed to point to a transmission of the species from the Tupí. I consider this highly
241 improbable, for the Northwestern Gê would never have lopped off an accented syl-
114 lable, but would presumably have transmuted the hypothetical loan-word into yetí (cf. below as to the assimilation of Tupí tapití). Further, there is a striking fact: Tupí agriculture stresses maize and manioc, the Northwestern and Central Gê emphasize sweet potatoes and yams, which virtually furnish their daily bread but play a more modest role among the Tupí.

T

174 In my description of Apinayé tillage I noted that the Northwestern and Central
174 Gê probably did not acquire manioc from either the Tupí or the Karayá, whose methods of employment and preparation are totally distinct.[illegible] Against such bor-
114 rowing may further be cited the term kwy̨r, uniformly distributed as it is over the entire Northwestern branch, from the Suyá to the remotest Timbira tribes. From Ribeiro's denial of the Krahô' Indians' familiarity with *the preparation of flour*—"farinha de pau," that is, flour from unfermented manioc[illegible]—it does not by any means follow, as Snethlage assumes,[illegible] that they lacked manioc altogether. For they may very well have used it as they do today, in the form of pies baked in earth ovens. In recent times the Eastern Timbira have adopted the preparation of flour together with the basketry press, not from the Tupí-Guajajára, but from Neobrasilians. This is indicated by their designating this utensil not by the Guajajára term tipiti, but by its disfigured Neobrasilian form tapití, assimilated to Timbira phonology as tapti. They further give to the roasting pan its Portuguese name, forno.

The species of arrowroot planted by the Rąmkô'kamekra differs from the Neobrasilian form.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 165–167.

[illegible] *Ibid.*, 86.

[illegible] Memoria, § 73.

[illegible] Nordostbras. Ind., 162.

GC SLS

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248 Notwithstanding Ribeiro's explicit assertion that the Krahô' of 1816 did not
174 know how to raise or treat cotton, it seems to me to have been native to all Northwestern
and Central Gê before the advent of civilization. In the first place, cotton
is employed in a variety of ways—in wholly aboriginal forms of industry as well
as in ceremonial, notably in the boys' initiation festival. A second argument is the
technique of plaiting cotton carrying slings for children, though it must be admitted
that according to Ribeiro[illegible] their material was burity bast. Third, there is the form
T of the spindle, deviating from the neighboring Neobrazilian and Guajajára parallels
G (pl. 18, *e*); finally, all the Northwestern tribes share the same word for cotton.

243 Ethnographically, however, the kupá is the most important of Timbira cultivated
252 species. This creeper (*Cissus* sp.) has starchy tendrils, which attain the thickness
of an inch and are baked in earth ovens. It does not occur wild; is restricted, so far
as my information goes, to the Eastern and Western Timbira and the Šerénte, all
of them Gê tribes; and is pronouncedly xerophil. Accordingly, it is probably a very
old cultivated species peculiar to these tribes, which could not have borrowed it
T from either Neobrazilians or any of their present Indian neighbors.

249 As for tobacco, my corresponding comment on it among the Apinayé also holds
276 for the Eastern Timbira. Apparently they were *acquainted* with it before the coming
of civilization, but even nowadays they do not plant it, the timid attempts of
this or that Rąmkö'kamekra having invariably failed to yield satisfactory results.
I did not observe a single case of its magical or ceremonial use among these people.
Both sexes, however, are passionate smokers and constantly beg for tobacco. They
smoke cigarettes of maize husks or tauary bast; a *few* also use little clay pipe bowls
bent at an angle, with bamboo stems (kačím; Portuguese, caximbo). The chief
Kukráčą' manufactures very pretty and neatly finished specimens, partly for sale
T to Neobrazilians, among whom the same form is in vogue.

245 Urucú and pepper shrubs, as well as sporadic *Crescentia*, mango, lemon or orange
trees, are planted beside or behind dwellings, the young plants being guarded
against roving pigs and fowls by little fences of vertically set sticks or by circumscribed
T quadrangles made of former racing logs.

241 The true plantations (pl. 5, *a*) are situated in the narrow *galeria* forests by the
brooks. Since annually new clearings are necessary, the distance of the plots from
361 the village steadily increases. When the transportation of the crops becomes altogether
166 too cumbersome, the Indians are obliged to move their village near the new
plots. Thus, the Rąmkö'kamekra migrate with fair regularity about every ten years
from the Ribeirão Santo Estevão to the Ribeirão dos Bois. While they are stationed
by one of the two creeks for from ten to twenty years, the timber of the other grows
again sufficiently to permit the creation of new plots.

562 Each individual family has its plantation, owned by the woman. No single man
412 owns a plot, but many an unmarried woman claims one and gets her kinsmen to
423 make the requisite clearings, this being an exclusively masculine task. For the last
hundred years only iron axes have been in use, different brands being very well
197 distinguished by the natives, who rightly prefer the North American "Collins"
blades. No one nowadays is able to haft such stone blades as are still occasionally
found. The method of felling timber with iron tools coincides with Neobrazilian
practice. Though not every Indian has a good ax suitable for the purpose, he may
borrow a relative's.

423 The several plots belonging to the married woman of an extended family usually,
596 but not always, adjoin one another. At times one individual family may simul-

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511 [illegible] *Memoria*, § 12.

423 taneously own plots in two separate sites. Boundaries between the plantations of
596 different owners are generally marked by rows of maize plants. The size of a plot
511 depends on the tree-feller's industry. One hectare (not quite two and a half acres)
is probably the minimum for a single family, many owning double that area, but
estimates are difficult because the form is never regular. Pohl sets the diameter of a
Põrekamekra extended family's farm at one hundred fathoms—a somewhat smaller
estimate. The yield naturally hinges by no means exclusively on the extent of the
clearing and the number of plants, but very largely on the care bestowed on them.
In this respect the Eastern Timbira are often incredibly negligent. To be sure,
[241] many families violently exert themselves in felling timber and planting their crops,
so that they could well harvest far more than the needs of subsistence. But after
this initial effort they pay little attention, so that the farm goes to rack and ruin.
There is no such personal sentimental bond between cultivated plants and their
owner as I discovered among the Apinayé.[illegible]

462 Both sexes jointly plant, weeding is almost wholly a feminine job, harvesting
241 exclusively so. No man will ever haul a carrying-basket with fruits; at most he may carry a few maize cobs or tubers in his hands. At the time of maturation swarms
of dwarf parrots attack the plantations, which are mostly guarded by the bigger
[177] boys, armed with slings (fig. 4) or, more rarely, with pellet bows (pl. 15, *a*) borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

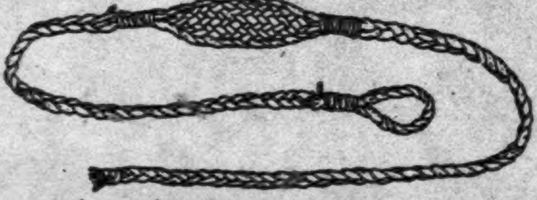

Fig. 4. Sling. ½ nat. size.

Except where the plots of the steppe Timbira adjoin impenetrable riparian for-
351 ests they are protected by coarse, heavy fences made of logs resting on forked
177 supports. These enclosures are to shut out not, as Snethlage supposed, game ani-
241 mals, but rather the cattle of neighboring ranchers, the worst plague that afflicts
their fields. But notwithstanding these fences the beasts, particularly if of the zebu breed, often break down the barrier and will within a few hours destroy the whole crop. Fazendeiros have more than once deliberately driven their herds into the Indians' plantations, especially if they were "rightful owners" of Indian lands, in order to compel the natives to abandon the site. Only about ten years ago this was the fate of the Mąkamekra horde of the Krahô' and their plantations at the sources of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño. If the Indians then shoot down one of these pests and consume it by way of indemnifying themselves for the loss of their farm, the stockmen wax highly indignant over such "cattle lifting."

241 Of the wild animals harmful to the crops the dwarf parrots rank as the worst. No sooner has the sun risen than they swarm from their nocturnal resting places in the riparian trees and swiftly pounce upon the crops, screaming aloud. Thus they cause considerable havoc, not so much by what they consume as by the quantities of scattered and spoiled fruit. This applies, above all, to the ripening maize

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 90.

241 and rice. An Indian who takes no precautions against these birds is sure to lose his entire yield, irrespective of the amount planted. The only antidote is to have a guardian stationed in the plots throughout the daytime during the season so that he may at once repel the intruders. This is achieved by shouts or a variety of
[411] missiles—stones, palm nuts, and clay balls hurled with the hand, with slings (hŭkaipĕ′rĕa), or with a pellet bow.

223 Among the Rąmkō′kamekra and Krahō′ I have seen boys setting snares for parrots. To a hoop about 20 cm. in diameter and spanned by a network of cords they attach a dozen nooses of tucum fiber (Rąmkō′kamekra) or, among the Krahō′, of horsehair. After placing some rice ears or similar lures below these snares, they tie the hoop in horizontal position to a wooden fork, which in turn is fastened to the top of as long a bamboo pole as possible. The entire contraption, which is visible from a considerable distance, is erected in the plantation, and as soon as the parrots pounce upon the rice ears their feet are caught in the nooses (pl. 17, *a*, *b*).

252 White neighbors are wont to mock at Rąmkō′kamekra farmers, alleging that
177 they raise nothing or at least nothing worth while and that they subsist by theft and begging. Few take the trouble even to look at the Indian plantations. Yet toward the close of 1930 these scoffers were obliged willy-nilly to acknowledge publicly that the Indians had planted considerable crops. At that time part of Maranhão suffered from a famine, for the manioc crop had failed over a wide area so that the generally indispensable flour made from this plant was lacking. In Barra do Corda the scarcity forced the local officials to ration the sale of what little was to be had. At the peak of this plight the Rąmkō′kamekra suddenly appeared with several horseloads of manioc flour and saved the townsmen since by an odd chance they alone had saved their yield. In the meantime, not only the half-starved Guajajára from beyond the Rio Corda had billeted themselves on the residents of Ponto, but even the Neobrazilians came to offer the Rąmkō′kamekra their labor in return for manioc. When I reached Barra do Corda in 1931 and inquired in a shop whether good flour was to be had, the owner answered, "Very good flour, indeed; it's from the aldea Ponto!" Yet in this town many "whites" had declared categorically that they would never eat anything prepared by "these
252 nauseating beasts" (*esses bichos nojentos*). Many Indians are deterred from ampler
433 production of manioc flour for sale only by the lack of means of transport, for
483 hauling a flour sack on one's back over a distance of seventy-eight kilometers is something of a hardship even for a Timbira educated as a log racer.

Fig. 5. Digging stick. ¹⁄₁₀ nat. size.

177 Rąmkō′kamekra economic life was most significantly affected during the last twenty years by the Indians' turning to intensive preparation of manioc flour and to rice cultivation. At present these originally alien articles of food are about to gain ascendancy both in the kitchen and, next to basketwork, in trade. Agriculturally the Rąmkō′kamekra have advanced farther since their contact with civilization than the Guajajára, whose aboriginal farming was anciently far more intensive, but whose productivity has since rather diminished than grown.

241 Even today the Indians in part use their aboriginal planting stick, which is invariably of very hard wood, either pau roxo or pau candeia, 75–100 cm. in length,
412 round and flattened spade-fashion at the butt (fig. 5). Sometimes this flattened

241 section is clearly set off from the round part. The Eastern Timbira term for this
412 implement, pĩčwapo, means "sharp, flat wood." In probing for tubers, especially
for sweet potatoes, these farmers use a special pointed stick some 40 cm. in length,
which is often derived from the end of a worn-out bow. These two are the only
native agricultural implements that persist in contemporary use in Ponto.

242 Except for rice and bitter manioc, plants of one species rarely occupy one continuous
major strip, the general practice being to dispose them in patches here and
there or mixed with other crops.

243 Among Timbira cultivated plants, maize holds the place of honor, being the only
177 one whose origin is explained by a myth. Though Ribeiro mentions only two indigenous
varieties,[137] the Rąmkō'kamekra raise four kinds of small-kerneled maize
which they derive from the legendary Star maiden, Kačěkwę'i, viz. 1, pōhįpéy,
true or good maize, with small, white, and very soft kernels; 2, pōhįyaká, white
maize, somewhat larger, but otherwise similar; 3, pōhįkreakáre, with small blue
kernels; and 4, to'rómre, with black kernels of medium size. The large-kerneled
varieties, pōhįti, are additions from the Neobrazilians.

243 The appearance of the Pleiades (krot) after sunset on the western horizon is a
221 harbinger of the rainy season and indicates the need for starting a clearing in order
805 to plant at the first rainfall. This ushers in the meipimrą'k period (p. 84), roughly
coterminous with the rainy season since it ends with the commencement of the
maize harvest.

243 *Horticultural rites.*—A man named Vōkrākę', whose maternal home is on the
624 east side of the village circle, is charged with ceremonially opening the planting as
796 well as the harvesting of maize. On the former occasion there figures a small gourd
bowl whose edge is painted with urucú and which is filled with maize kernels.
Vōkrākę' takes this container to the plaza and sets it on the ground, where people
dance around it. Then he takes the bowl to his wife's plot and plants the maize,
whereupon others are free to follow his example. After this functionary's death
his office descends to the matrilineal kinsman to whom he has transferred his name.

243 When the maize stands about 1 m. high, another ceremony is held in order to
782 induce the Moon, Pųduvrį, to ward off noxious animal parasites from the plants.
796 Clapping together their hands and singing "Pųduvrįre kayě'yě' rivahá vaká mopó
tu krére," all the villagers of both sexes then slowly dance in the plaza on a full-moon
night, moving from the north southward under the leadership of a precentor
wielding his rattle. In the rainy season they fear a lunar eclipse even far more than
during the dry period, for they think it would destroy the crops. The relevant
ceremonies will be described later.

776 In case of drought, however, not the Moon, but the Sun, Pųt, is addressed. Three
782 old men then march round the boulevard, singing "kedeti/imąpéy/vayakrį'
(Grandfather [=sun],/be good to me and/gladden me [by rain])."

No one—not even the woman owning the plot—is free to eat of the crop until
796 the councilors have tasted of it and declared it mature. The maize harvest is opened
624 by the same man, Vōkrākę', who inaugurated the planting season. First, a hunting
243 party leaves to secure meat for the village. When they return with game, Vōkrākę'
asks his wife to fetch from the plots a carrying basket full of maize ears, which are
husked and cooked into meat pies to be served to the councilors in the plaza. Of the
husks Vōkrākę' makes some twenty shuttlecocks, which his son Rąrą'k takes to
the plaza and throws, one by one, into the circle of players. These throw each ball
toward one another with the palm of the hand as long as possible without per-

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[137] Memoria, § 11.

796 624 mitting it to drop to the ground. If a player at last allows it to fall, it is not picked up, but Rąrą'k throws a new one into the ring until all the shuttlecocks are forfeited.

243 [616] After midnight the men of both rainy season moieties assemble by two fires in the plaza, whither a man named Kái brings them a bundle of unfeathered arrows with balls of maize husk covering their points (pl. 16, *a*). The players step up in pairs (so as to represent in each case both moieties) and try to hit each other with the arrows, which they throw with their hands.

241 123 623 In 1929, during my first visit, when I had not yet come to understand anything of the ceremonial, I had the following experience. An Indian wishing to show me a special favor had some sweet potatoes brought from the plantation for my delectation before the harvest time had been officially announced. In my innocence I eulogized the generous donor before the elders in the plaza, but at once noted the silent, but significant glances passed among them. The donor was thus placed in an ambiguous position and incurred censure, though in deference to me this was not carried too far. However, the culprit was obliged to hurry to the plaza with a bowlful of baked sweet potatoes for the elders, who consumed them and declared the crop ready for harvesting. Similarly I observed that they received two watermelons when the harvest for these fruits was opened.

527 244 575 Another ceremony, hṍčwa (= pointed leaf, i.e., sweet potato), is devoted to the sweet potatoes. It always takes place when these plants produce their vines, immediately preceding the ceremony just described of opening the maize harvest. The performers, numbering some twenty, are organized like the festive organizations, but their activities are confined to this single annual appearance at the hṍčwa. As in these other societies, membership is inherited matrilineally with the personal name. The lodge is situated on the north side of the eastern half of the village circle. Like the other societies, this, too, has a leader, the hṍčwakédeti (grandfather of the hṍčwa). He wears hanging down the nape of his neck from a neck cord a feather from the tail of a red arara. The present incumbent is the chief Hąktokót, but the title hṍčwa itself belongs to the bearer of the name Rąrą'k, who in this capacity wears falcon down on his body and has a little whistle of Mataco type.[illegible] The participants also include a precentor and two girl auxiliaries.

[302] The members paint the entire body with white clay, and their faces are marked with two obtuse-angled parallel lines traced with the finger tips with the same pigment. The apex of one of these angles is on the forehead, while its sides extend over the temples; the point of the other angle is on the tip of the nose and its sides are drawn across the cheeks.

The hṍčwa actor proper is decorated at sunset. At nightfall a big fire is kindled in the plaza, where the precentor remains waiting. Finally the hṍčwa leaves his maternal home and walks to the plaza, where the precentor begins singing to the accompaniment of a rattle, while the hṍčwa, with his pinčwę'ipey behind him, sounds his whistle. Thereupon the hṍčwakédeti steps out of his maternal house, dances toward the plaza, but immediately returns in order to bring with him the entire membership, who now dance in the plaza with outstretched arms.

Toward midnight all the women and girls come out of their houses and range themselves in groups at the opening of the radial paths leading from their maternal homes to the plaza. The hṍčwa march round the plaza from group to group, singing before each of them.

The object of this ceremony is to ensure for each extended family an adequate supply of sweet potatoes, corresponding to the number of its female members.

[illegible] Izikowitz, Musical Instruments, 233.

789 624 Sometimes a tamhą'k (p. 98) is made to assume the duty of officially tastin sweet potatoes and gourds prior to the harvest. Thus, the Indians hope to improv their crops at the eleventh hour because the tamhą'k, especially if young and vigorous, are credited with the magical power of improving and increasing the yield. The member chosen is then decorated with the falcon down appropriate to hi organization.

251 *Storage.*—According to Ribeiro the Eastern Timbira cached their food supplie from year to year in special storehouses: "... e entre tanto que cresce e sazona a plantação comem elles a coberto das invernadas os generos que do anno passado ficam reservados em paioes particulares, que cada familia guardou escondidamente para si."[illegible] Personally I have never seen anything deserving of the designation paiol (storage room)—except for the modern, closed attics. Tubers—sweet potatoes, yams, bitter and sweet manioc, as well as arrowroot—are left in the ground, where they keep best. Thence the Indians take just enough to supply several days' need. Gourds and beans are rarely kept for a longer period; ground nuts are stowed away in little baskets and bags of burity bast. Maize, too, is usually left in the plantation as long as possible and brought home according to demand. Finally, the residue is carried to the house in one lot, the husk-covered ears being hung in bunches below the roof so as to be protected against insects by the smoke. Another way is to fill large burity baskets and stoppered gourd vessels with the kernels, but there they usually soon fall prey to insects. Rice, when ripe, must be harvested
[177] forthwith; at first it is gathered in the plantation on a grate of poles covered by a roof, later it is gradually transferred to the village, where it is piled up in the attic in regularly stratified heaps. This process, like rice-growing itself, is derived from the Neobrazilians.

242 Real care is devoted only to next year's seed-corn, which is stored in firmly corded bags and gourds closed with wax, these containers being packed in baskets usually suspended high up under the roof.

HUNTING

177 224 The agricultural progress of the Indians is not due to Neobrazilian example nor t the instructions of missionaries and officials of the Indian Welfare Service. It wa grim necessity that drove the natives to create a new basis of subsistence. The reduction of the tribal territory to one-twentieth of its former extent; the encroachments of Neobrazilian cattle on even this residual habitat; and the use of firearms in hunting by Neobrazilians and, to some extent, also by the Indians caused such diminution of big game that hunting rapidly lost its economic significance. The younger people of today know tapirs, jaguars, or the mutum (*Mitua mitu*) at best from the narratives of their elders. The only groups preserving the normal aboriginal state in this respect are the Western Gaviões, who bar civilized individuals from their woods, and the Timbira of the Gurupy, beyond whose riparian dwellings extend vast tracts of wholly unsettled forests. All other tribes have for a long time depended primarily on vegetable fare. At festivals, as I discovered among the Krahō', the hunters often vainly exert themselves for weeks in order to secure the game flesh required for the ceremonially prescribed meat pies. During my stay with the Pųkóbye I saw no meat except that of stolen head of cattle. While spending si days among the Kre'pų'mkateye I saw no booty from the chase except for a capybara (*Hydrochoerus capibara*); and when I arrived among the Krikati the chief's welcome was the indignant query why I had not brought some meat.

[illegible] Memoria, § 11.

224 In the good old days conditions were quite different. Naturally there was occasional hunger when the hunters' luck failed them,[20] but game formed the chief food supply, vegetable dishes being ancillary. If a single hunter failed, a party would encircle a bit of the steppe with fire, leaving a gap for the hunters, who would club or shoot the fugitive beasts so far as they had not yet been overcome by the smoke and heat. Nowadays both the ubiquitous livestock of the Neobrazilians and the smallness of the remaining area bar this technique.

262 Normally all mammals rank as edible. The steppes and *galeria* forests of the 136 Rąmkö'kamekra still harbor the following: four species of deer (*Masama* sp.); the fox (*Canis brasiliensis*); agouti (*Dasyprocta aguti*); paca (*Coelogenys paca*); cavy = pereá (*Cavia* sp.); two species of wild pig (*Dicotyles labiatus, D. torquatus*); two species of anteater (*Myrmecophaga jubata, M. tetradactyla*); four species of armadillo (*Dasypus* sp.); two species of opossum (*Didelphys* sp.); the porcupine (*Coerolabes* sp.); the skunk (*Memphitis suffocans*); steppe rats (*Muridae ?*); bats (*Chiropterus* sp.); very rarely, the coati (*Nasua* sp.); monkeys (*Cebus apella*); small hares (*Sylvilagus brasiliensis*); wildcats (*Felis pardalis*); and pumas (*Felis concolor*). Though the number of these species is fairly considerable, not one of them is at all abundant enough for dependence on it as a constant source of food.

All birds are eaten except the carrion vultures (*Catharistes urubú*, Vieill.; *Carthartes aura*, Linn.); the king vulture (*Gypagus papa*, Linn.); certain *Cuculidae* (*Piaiya* sp., *Crotophaga* sp.), and species beyond consideration because of their tiny bodies, such as the *Trochilidae* and many *Pipridae*.

Most important of the birds eaten is the pampa ostrich (*Rhea macrorhyncha*, Sclater). There follow the sariema (*Cariama cristata*, Linn.); such fowls as the jacú (*Penelope* sp.); the aracuã (*Ortalis guttata*, Spix), which is relatively abundant in old plantations; various inambú species (*Tinamus* sp., *Crypturus* sp.); partridges (*Rhynchotus rufescens*, Temm.); wild pigeons (*Columba* sp.; *Leptoptila* sp.); and parrots. [237] Red araras are virtually unattainable here at present, so that the chief material for feathered decoration is lacking, for want of which the Indians in part substitute kerchiefs. Again and again they implored me to bring them arara feathers from the Apinayé, who in this respect are somewhat better off. [857] Aquatic birds are wholly lacking, except for a species of heron (*Tigrisoma* sp.) and a waterfowl (*Aramides* sp.). Small birds are hunted only by boys, who use arrows with a knobbed tip or with a cross of little rods (pl. 16, *c*, *d*).

The Timbira do not eat tailless amphibians and look with contempt upon the Guajajára for eating at least three species. On the other hand, they neither avoid large lizards (*Iguana* sp.; *Tupinambis* sp.) nor crocodiles and nonvenomous snakes. The Rąmkö'kamekra offered me the flesh of the sucurijú (*Eunectes murinus*), the giboya (Boa constrictor), and the caninana (*Phrynonax sulphureus*). Land tortoises (*Testudo tabulata*) and a small water tortoise (*Emys* sp. ?), which is taken with hook and line, are highly prized.

Women, as noted, eat head lice, though these naturally do not rank as food or as a delicacy. The Indians said they did not know themselves why they ate them, seeing that they are tasteless. Possibly it is "by way of punishment"; that was the reason given me among the Kaingang, whom I would see picking ticks off their bodies, crushing them with their teeth, and then expectorating them. Occasionally the Canella also consume the fat, white beetle larvae found in the kernels of palm nuts—when they do not prefer using them as a hair cosmetic. However, they do

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[20] Pohl, Reise, 2:200.

262 not crave these larvae so passionately as many Guaraní, let alone Kaingang, wh
136 fill thick bamboo tubes with them. I have never seen Timbira eating grasshoppers,
ants, or any other insects besides those mentioned above.

Weapons.—The principal Timbira weapon is the bow, kuhē' (pl. 15, *b*) nowadays
411 receding with the spread of muzzle-loaders, but still predominantly used even by
177 the Rąmkō'kamekra, who own probably more firearms than the other steppe Tim-
bira. The bow is of pau d'arco (*Tecoma* sp.), more rarely of piquiá (*Caryocar* sp.),
[137] or pau rôxo wood. Its size diminishes with its importance in warfare and hunting.
Among the Western Gaviões, who lack guns and still guard their woods with the
bow, it attains the enormous length of 254 cm.; the private collection of Estevão de
Oliveira contains a specimen. These bows thus rank third for length among the
South American types known to me, being surpassed only by the equivalents from
the Bakairí of the Xingú headwaters and from the Kaingang of São Paulo. The
"Bugre" (Botocudo of Sta. Catharina) bows pronounced as the longest by Krickeberg[illegible] are thus far inferior, being only 230 cm. long; and so far as my experience goes those of the Sirionó of lower Bolivia, to which some assign the first place, never exceed 216 cm. The maximum measurements among the Eastern Gaviões (Pųkóbye), Kríkatí, Krahō', and Rąmkō'kamekra) are, respectively: 192, 191, 188, 183 cm.[illegible]

Common as is a round cross section among the Krahō', it is limited to the toy bows of little boys among the Rąmkō'kamekra, and these may also be elliptical. Otherwise the Timbira—the Kre'pų'mkateye less than the rest—uniformly flatten the string side; a ceremonial Rąmkō'kamekra specimen has approximately oval cross section.

The tip of the Rąmkō'kamekra bow, around which they wind the taut end of the string, generally, though not always, has for its support a pad of cordage (pl. 15, *c*). Among the other tribes the tip is slightly set off on the outside. To produce tension they loosen the corded loop from the other end, shorten the string by vigorous twisting, bend the bow with the knee, and push the end again over the rather blunt tip. The bowstring, kuhēčē, is of tucum fiber; I have not seen the cotton form ascribed by Snethlage to "the northern tribes."

[137] The hunting arrows of the Timbira are of camayuva cane (*Guadua* sp.) and
generally as long as the bow or but slightly shorter (pl. 16, *f*). Solely the Western
Gaviões, who require arrows corresponding in length to their gigantic bows, use
only canna brava (*Gynerium saccharoides*), obviously because the thickness of the
camayuva cane is not proportionate to the requisite length. This tribe tips arrows
with huge, two-edged, unserrated bamboo points up to 35 cm. long and 4 cm. wide,
which are glued and tied to a wooden foreshaft. Others have a dentate wooden
point. Among the other Eastern Timbira I was too late to see arrows with bamboo
knives, which are presumably above all for use in warfare. The typical arrow of
the Eastern Timbira (like the Apinayé and Šerénte form) altogether lacks a spe-
cially mounted point, the end of the camayuva shaft being itself shaped into a
point by unilateral beveling. This is the customary hunting arrow of all steppe
411 Timbira, not (as Snethlage states) a mere weapon for practice. The Kríkatí, Pųkó-
321 bye, Kre'pų'mkateye, and Rąmkō'kamekra have arrows with an inserted wooden
322 foreshaft supporting a flat bone tip, which is put on so that there is a laterally
projecting blunt barb (pl. 16, *g*). The last-named people more frequently substitute
for the bone point one of iron wire (pl. 16, *h*) or a little barblike rod of hard wood.

[illegible] In Buschan, Illustrierte Völkerkunde, 283, 284.

[illegible] Wied-Neuwied, Reise, v. 2, 23, found a "Patachos" bow "8 Fuss 9½ Zoll englisch." *Editor.*

411 I noted arrows headed with hollow bones (hõ'kóp) and with flat iron points (kro-
321 wakõwakį') among the Kre'pų'mkateye and Pųkóbye; the former type occasionally
322 turns up also among the Rąmkõ'kamekra.

In addition to the foregoing, all steppe Timbira have arrows with smooth wooden heads, as well as with a cross of two pairs of little sticks tied on so that the point projects only a little. The latter type, which serves for hunting birds, is borrowed
[177] from the Guajajára, as witnessed by the native term, prįyĩkakót (Guajajára bird-arrow). The bird-arrows of half-grown boys are topped either with a ball of burity bast fiber (pl. 16, *e*) or a segment of a kerneled corncob; or the point may consist of the thickened knoblike root end of the arrowshaft itself (pl. 16, *d*).

411 All Timbira arrows have tangential bridge feathering (pl. 16, *j*). The feathers
are tied with cotton string, while the place for inserting the wooden foreshaft of
171 the arrow is mostly wrapped with black guambé (*Philodendron* sp.) bark. From
[137] an old Indian of the Čą'kamekra tribe now merged in the Rąmkõ'kamekra population. I obtained arrows with gynerium shaft and radial sewed feathering (pl. 16, *k*). His neat and competent execution proved thorough familiarity with the rather difficult technique, not a mere attempt at imitation. According to his statements the Čą'kamekra used both bridge and sewed feathering, the latter having been borrowed from the Gamella of Codó, who were destroyed in 1856. Both techniques are also traditionally ascribed to the Gamella of Vianna.[illegible]

Sewed feathering has for its criterion *attachment of the feathers with threads traversing the shaft by means of several transverse perforations* specially made for the purpose. It occurs in two discrete areas—in the central Matto Grosso and on both sides of the lower Tocantins. Most of the instances given by Schmidt,[illegible] on the other hand, do not properly fall under this head for lack of any perforation of the shaft.

Our first area, defined by Nordenskiöld,[illegible] embraces the Bororo, Bakairí (Carib), Yaulapití (Arawak), Trumaí (isolated), Huanyam (Čapakúra), the Tupí stock being represented by the Auetõ', Kamayurá and Kayabí. The existence of a second center was first established by Raymundo Lopes on the basis of literary sources. I am, however, in a position considerably to augment the list of these northern groups, which at present may be summarized as follows: 1, Urubú (Tupí); 2, Amanayé = Ararandeuára (Tupí); 3, Guajajára (rare—Tupí); 4, Parakanã (Tupí); 5, Asuriní (Tupí ?); 6, Arára (Carib); 7, Parirí (Carib); 8, Čą'kamekra (Gê); 9, Gamella of Codó (?); 10, Gamella of Vianna (isolated).

I cannot get rid of the impression that the people who spread this technique were of Tupí stock, though not of the Še branch of this family (Guaraní, Tupinambá). Of the eight Matto Grosso tribes, also, three are Tupí.

The end of the arrow is held with the right thumb and index finger, while the string is pulled with the index, middle and ring fingers. The shaft rests below the extended index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. The arrow is fitted to the string in horizontal position; in letting it fly the archer holds his bow in approximately vertical position. He aims in a straight line, making his shots random only when compelled by the greatness of the distance. Really indirect shots do not occur; I am unable to confirm Snethlage's relevant statement.[illegible] Given a suitable angle, a Timbira arrow flies about seventy meters, but some measure of certainty goes only with about half that distance.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 12.

[illegible] Schmidt, Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten, 1085 f.

[illegible] Nordenskiöld, Ethnography, 3:45, also map 4.

[illegible] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 158.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

[p. 68]

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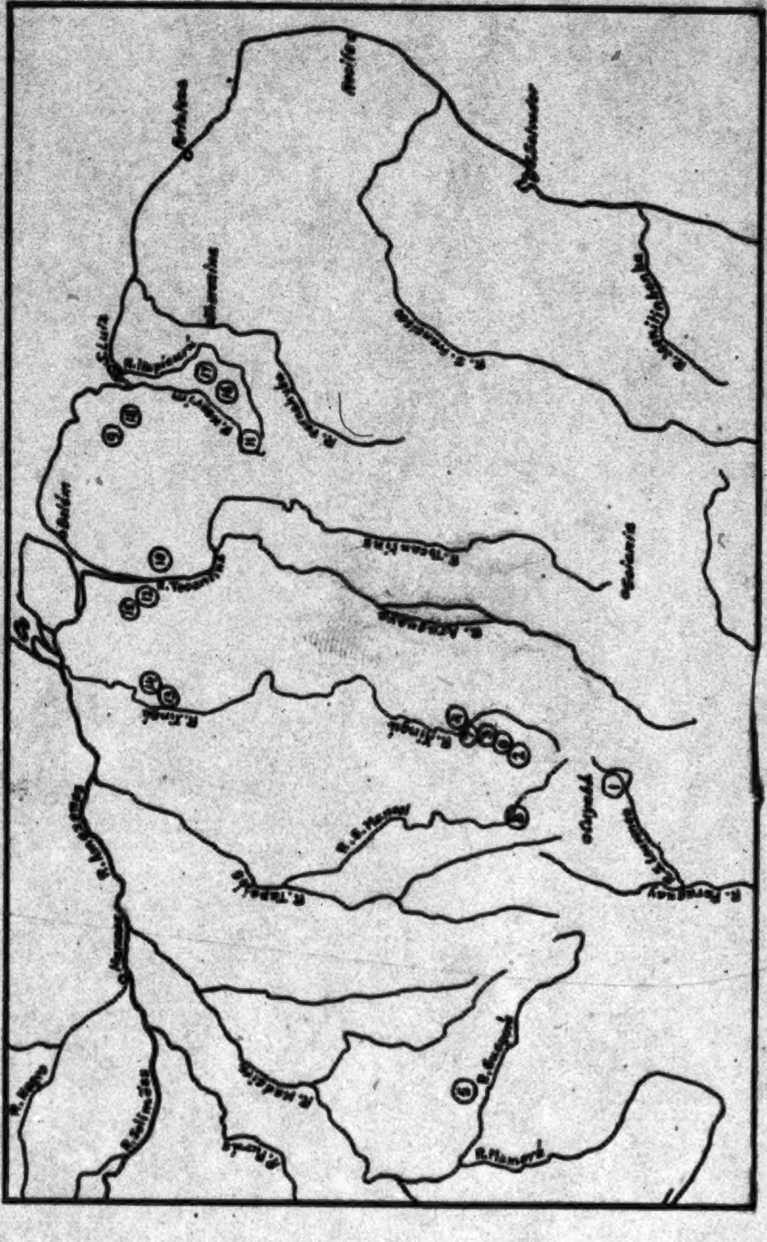
R. Negro
R. Solimões
Manaos
R. Amazonas
R. Purús
R. Madeira
R. Tapajós
R. S. Manuel
R. Xingú
R. Araguaya
R. Tocantins
Belém
S. Luiz
R. Mearim
R. Itapecurú
Therezina
R. Parnahyba
Fortaleza
Recife
R. S. Francisco
S. Salvador
R. Jequitinhonha
Goiania
Cuyabá
R. S. Lourenço
R. Paraguay
R. Guaporé
R. Mamoré

[map 2, a, Facing p. 69]

224 *Hunting methods.*—Traps are remarkably rare among the Timbira. The Rąmkô'kamekra trap doves with an elastic beam, while boys kill them with automatic bow 177 shots set near their houses. Today men limit themselves to spring-guns when killing deer, pacas, agoutis, etc., by an automatic release; formerly they, too, employed bows and arrows. The nooses for snaring dwarf parrots have been mentioned above (pl. 17, *a*, *b*). Among the Krahô' I saw two deadfalls of the Mundé type current among Tupí tribes.[illegible] Like the pyramidal bird traps of horizontal sticks occasionally made by boys, they are evidently derived from Neobrazilians.

Except for the above-mentioned surrounding drive with the aid of fire, the Indians—even when setting out in considerable parties—hunt only singly or in pairs, whether stalking the game or lying in wait at a fixed station. Like the 231 Apinayé, the Eastern Timbira rarely hunt with their dogs, numerous as these are; 174 since their masters do not know how to train them they are of little use in the chase. 136 This slight utilization of the dog supports its post-Columbian derivation. However, it certainly reached the Timbira soon after the discovery, probably through intermediary tribes between them and the coast, for they do not consider the dog an item obtained from civilized people. The Krẽyé of Bacabal and the Rąmkô'kamekra concur in the view that they obtained dogs by stealing and raising the pups of wild dogs; presumably they have in mind the Brazilian "forest dog" (*Speothos venaticus*). However, the Pųkôbye, Kre'pų'mkateye, and Krẽyé of Bacabal call the species čą (steppe fox [*Canis brasiliensis*]), while the Apą'nyekra, Kénkateye, Rąmkô'kamekra, and the Põrekamekra equivalent is rop (jaguar), which corresponds to Apinayé, Northern and Southern Kayapó practice.

224 Deer are most commonly hunted from a fixed station in the branches of a tree above the feeding ground of the quarry when in search of fallen blossoms or fruit. The hunter sits on a few transverse poles, waiting for his victim invariably at night. The same method is extended to pacas and agoutis.

The report of a herd of wild pigs at once sets all the hunters of the village to work. They try to sneak up from behind or, for once using their dogs, drive the pigs to bay so that they can be shot or clubbed to death. The only lance I ever saw [411] among the Timbira I obtained from the Krikatí, who used it for hunting pigs; it was a simple pole pointed at one end.

Anteaters, which are easily overtaken in running, are knocked down with clubs. The Timbira are not repelled overmuch by the fantastic stench of the skunk. Even after it is roasted, it retains a disagreeable odor, despite the tenderness and fatness of the flesh, but this is expressing my personal reaction, not that of the Timbira. An armadillo caught on the steppe before it is able to escape into its burrow is killed, as noted by Snethlage, by crushing its skull with a club or any hard object. But if the beast manages to flee into its burrow, it must be dug out at the expense of much labor, which, however, no Timbira begrudges, even if he is obliged to keep digging till he himself vanishes in the pit, as I have actually witnessed. None of these Indians could bring himself to pass an armadillo burrow without probing whether the animal is inside; and if that is ascertained, the digging starts at once, commonly with nothing but a stick hastily hacked into shape.

The stalker of a pampa ostrich masks himself with a disguise of palm grass hanging downward from the forehead and neck; or the hunter approaches after quickly painting himself with black stripes, the pigment being provided by the omnipresent charcoal remaining from steppe fires. During the dry season he lies in wait in a special hut, kwęk, near the watering place of the ostriches. The sariema is easily

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[illegible] Nordenskiöld, Ethnography, 3:67, fig. 14.

224 killed, but sought only for lack of all other game. Because of its[1] reputed destruction
[231] of snakes the people like to keep it tame in the village. Though I have never observed these birds at this, a tame specimen once gave me a demonstration of its procedure when mistaking my leather belt, which had accidentally dropped, for a snake. Furiously pouncing on the strap, the sariema seized the buckle with its bill, swung it in the air, and lashed it two or three times against the ground in a manner that would inevitably have cracked a snake's spine. Only then did the attacker recognize
223 its error and let the belt alone. Falcons are killed in large numbers when the steppe grass is burnt in June and these birds immediately foregather in order to hunt the startled grasshoppers, lizards, and other small species. Falcons are sought both for their flesh and their downy feathers, which play a great part in Eastern Timbira ceremonial.

224 Snakes are killed with any handy stick, except that a sucurijú, which has the thickness of a human thigh, requires a sizable club.

Game of agouti size, or larger, is carried home in a palm-leaf basket plaited
483 *ad hoc.* First the hunter plaits the back of the container, deposits the animal on it, and then interlaces the leaflets over it. The tip of a monkey's tail is pulled through its lower jaw and the game is then hung over's one shoulder. A man will tie together a deer's feet, put his head through the ring thus formed, and carry his kill home on his back.

462 The Ŗąmkö'kamekra, too, as noted by Snethlage,[illegible] drags large game no farther than the village boundary, whence his wife carries it home.

In general the Timbira are still skillful at hunting, exhibiting marked ability to
224 interpret footprints and great perseverance in pursuing wounded animals. A good
581 hunter is prized all the more nowadays because lack of game renders the chase progressively less productive. He is a much coveted husband: I once overheard a Ŗąmkö'kamekra reproving his infatuated niece as follows, "You want to marry *him!* What sort of game has *he* ever shot?"

224 Collective hunting accompanies the festivals, especially the period preceding the
527 terminal celebration, which always requires a large quantity of meat pies. Since
561 this closing ceremony is determined by the council when the duration of the festival is deemed sufficient, this decision likewise involves the signal for collective hunting. This devolves exclusively on the festive societies and age classes that participated in the festival. Each group is accompanied by the two associated girl auxiliaries, who are sometimes joined by several female age mates, especially of the "wanton" class. At least one man of more mature age invariably goes along in order to advise the younger people and to see to the preservation of ceremonial rules. He has the prerogative of eating the brains of animals killed, this diet being tabooed to the young people. The oldest woman of the society—contrary to Snethlage's observation—does not dream of permitting herself to be loaded down with kitchen utensils
[887] to be brought to the hunters' assembly. Old women calmly wait in the village for whatever food their sons or sons-in-law are morally obliged to bring them. I am further puzzled by the function of the cords and ropes (both of tucum fiber) with which, according to the same investigator, every hunter provides himself.

224 In the collective hunting trips, too, the tamhą'k (p. 98) play a part, attempting
791 to increase the yield of the undertaking by first performing certain actions. Indeed, they even tried to improve the quality of the slain game by their magical influence. If animals were to be surrounded with the aid of firing, a tamhą'k had to be the first to light the fire. He and his fellows, however, did not take part in the ensuing drive.

[illegible] Meine Reise, 483.

1 [i.e. the sariema --- Analyst]

224 791 but remained standing aloof. But after the spoils had been piled up, a tamhą'k went there to select a portion for himself and his fellow members, and they then distributed it among themselves.

If the hunting party had killed a tapir, all persons within reach gathered round the carcass, and an old man selected as vigorous a young tamhą'k as could be found. The man chosen set off his occipital hair by tying in the manner explained, and painted the oral region with charcoal powder; whereupon the old man stuck a wad of cotton between the tamhą'k's lips. [789] For evisceration the beast was laid, belly up, on palm leaves, then a knife was ground and put on the game. The tamhą'k stepped up, seized the knife, slowly made a single downward incision in the skin, cutting chest and belly, and redeposited the blade. The object of this performance was to render the tapir fat when dissected. The old man thereupon handed the animal's liver to one of the tamhą'k's relatives, who had a pie, ku'kų'ti, prepared from it, which the young men brought to the elders in the plaza.

224 The killer of a jaguar screamed beside the carcass until one of his hunting companions approached, took away the hunter's weapon, whether bow or gun, and gave him his own in exchange. The hunter distributed the skin among the bravest men, who used it for armlets on their upper arms.

776 782 224 The sun is considered the protector of game animals, which are thus commended to his care: Of a late afternoon an old man summoned the men to form a circle round him in the plaza. He stood resting on a stick, faced east, turning his back to the solar disk, and prayed: "Kédeti imą̃ prire kuna yamãke imą̃ katí vakokú rųité a'nã ató impey!" Approximately this means: "May the Grandfather [sun] protect all beasts so they grow up and can be eaten by man." Then the suppliant successively enumerated the long series of species whose welfare he commended to the sun.

FISHING

226 171 Fishing is but slightly developed among the Timbira. Its economic insignificance has been noted by Snethlage, too.[illegible] Even with tribes like the Kre'pų'mkateye and the Timbira of Araparytíua, who live directly on the banks of sizable rivers, fishing plays a subordinate role. As for the steppe Timbira, the brooks near their settlements furnish only small fish in moderate quantities, so that a family could hardly ever eat its fill from the produce of a catch. Fishing was naturally eliminated for the Krĩkatí, who dipped up their water supply from water holes. However, in special cases certain small species form the prescribed diet.

226 Fish are secured by shooting with arrows (pl. 16, *h*, *i*), with a line, and (after drugging) with a scoop net (pl. 17, *c*). Fish spears and anchored nets are lacking, as are basketry traps and the "pari" traps frequent among the Tupí tribes and also found among the Apinayé. The fish arrows are sometimes, but not as a rule, without feathers. They are generally marked by the greater length of their gynerium shafts and bear simple barbed points. Harpoon darts and arrows with several points are unknown.

226 177 463 Tradition does not report aboriginal fishhooks. Those now in use are of iron, mostly from North America, and are designated by the term ãyó, derived from Portuguese *anzol*. The Indians themselves manufacture the line from tucum fiber. Angling devolves mainly on the children, women, and old men.

226 114 The Rąmkö'kamekra poison fish with the plant now cultivated by them and called kalón by the Timbira, the tinguy of the Neobrazilians, from whom the Indians borrowed it. Another fish drug, less used at present, but in my opinion

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[illegible] Nordostbras. Ind., 160.

226 aboriginal, is the forest creeper the Timbira call ha'kró, the Neobrazilians timbó.
114 The Indians tear it out with the roots, then wash off the earth, and tap the root on
a log with an appropriate stick so as to separate the fibers. While some rinse the
fiber balls in the water of the creek, others wait downstream in order to seize with
their hands the stupefied fish as they drift along, or spit them on arrows, or catch
the smaller fry with a scoop net, krį, this last being a conical net mounted on a hoop
without a handle. My reason for regarding it as aboriginal is that, while lacking
among both the Guajajára and Neobrazilians, it appears in the same form with the
[174] identical designation among the Eastern (Rąmkō'kamekra, Pųkóbye, Kre'pų'm-
kateye) and Western Timbira. The small fish are collected in gourd bowls or little
[227] baskets, the larger ones are ranged on special cords, tepčečą, with a wooden tip at
one end and a transverse stick at the other (fig. 6).

In drugging fish, too, they like to select a young tamhą'k, who is the first to enter
226 the water when the stupefied fish begin to appear, while the other Indians wait on
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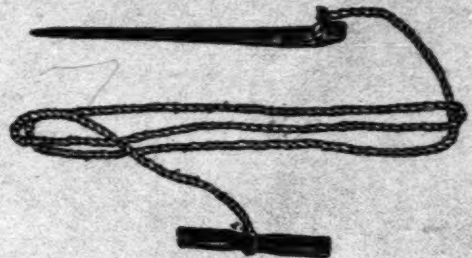

Fig. 6. Cord for stringing fish. Approx. ½ nat. size.

the bank. He spits the first three fish on his arrow, signalling for each by a shout, to
which the others respond by screaming and the blowing of trumpets. Then he leaves
the water and hands the fish to an old man, while everyone starts gathering the
spoils.

GATHERING

222 Gathering is indissolubly linked with nomadic or seminomadic life. Farmers in a
178 restricted territory, like the present Timbira, cannot gather in the steppe with any
measure of profit.

782 However, though this source of food has shrunk almost to the insignificance of
fishing through the progress of agriculture and the restriction of the habitat, the
Rąmkō'kamekra still pray to the sun to protect the steppe fruits and let them grow
to gladden men's hearts. This is done somewhat differently than in the correspond-
ing prayer for game, though in almost identical words. The speaker was the oldest
man of the entire tribe. He went to the plaza in the morning, rested one knee on the
ground, stretched out an empty gourd bowl toward the sun, and said, "Kédeti imą
ampó čo yamã ke imã hokati vayakrį'."

Before rice and manioc flour were available, when the tribal territory was about
222 twenty times its present extent, the gathering of steppe and *galeria* fruits was per-
175 haps proportionately greater. Ribeiro,[illegible] who evidently observed the Timbira with
137 special frequency during their migratory period, enumerates the following among
their wild fruits:

[illegible] Memoria, § 11.

222 Juçára (*Euterpe* sp.)
175 Bacaba (*Oenocarpus* sp.)
137 Sapucaia (*Lecythis* sp.)
Ourití (?)
Guabiroba
Bacury (*Platonia* sp.)
Puçá
Piquy (*Caryocar* sp.)
Mocajuba (*Acrocomia* sp.)
Mangaba (*Hancornia* sp.)
Cajá (*Anacardium* sp.)
Araçá (*Psidium* sp.)
Coco = babassu (*Orbignia* sp.)

Strangely enough, he omits the palm that is one of the most, if not the most, important of species for the Timbira, namely, the burity (*Mauritia flexuosa*).

Snethlage thus supplements the list:[illegible]

Piassava (*Attalea* sp.)
Catulé (*Cocus comosa*)
Paty (*Astrocaryum* sp.)
Muricy (*Byrsonima* sp.)
(Various *Astrocaryae*)

262 137 Of all the species named only four are really important in supplying a sufficiency of food during part of the year, viz., the four palms of the *galeria* woods—juçára, bacaba, babassu, and burity.

272 252 From the fleshy layer of the seeds of the juçára, bacaba, and burity fruits the Indians prepare more or less viscid beverages, which are very nutritious by reason of their fatty content. They are strained through little round strainers, plaited from uarumã strips, whose ends are twisted together into a peripheral pad (pl. 20, *c*). The babassu yields for food not only its strongly oleaginous seeds, but also the indwelling larvae of *Bruchus nucleorum*,[illegible] which we have noted as used for hair pomade. The seeds are pounded in a mortar, and the pulp is rinsed with water, whence there evolves a fatty, white juice, which is poured through the abovementioned strainer.

721 Anciently tribes waged war over stands of babassu, as in the fighting between the Krahô' and the Pôrekamekra noted by Pohl.[illegible] It was obviously this palm whose ownership was at stake; for it is especially common on the left bank of the Tocantins.

262 222 Ribeiro mentions the mocajuba trunk as a source of food and drink, a use I have never myself noted. On the other hand, the palmitos, leaf shoots, of the juçara and especially of the anajá (*Maximiliana regia*) are occasionally consumed even today.

252 In times of dearth the Rąmkô'kamekra prepare a kind of flour from the root of the patioba (*Caladium* sp.; Timbira: mriti), which grows in the water of creeks and swamps.

222 As an article of diet, wild honey is equally insignificant. Snethlage describes the procedure of hacking it out of the trees and pouring it into gourd bottles. I have never seen beehives in Timbira villages.

222 [462] 883 Except for honey, the gathering of wild food is principally a feminine task; even nowadays women and girls are rather addicted to it. Marching through the steppe, they glance all around, almost instinctively scouring the country, and collect whatever comes near them into a gourd bowl, which they generally take along on such trips. Sometimes a large bevy of girls, especially young ones, jointly roam over the steppe for days in quest of fruits. In order not to miss their customary dances every night, they take a precentor with them, but otherwise decline a male escort and would manhandle any lad who should thrust his company upon them. During one of these marches, in 1933, I observed the following remarkable terminal performance.

881 During the last period of seclusion of the initiation festival held at the time a dozen girls with the precentor Kaukré and his wife marched about forty kilometers

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[illegible] Nordostbras. Ind., 160.

[illegible] Cf. Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 54.

[illegible] Pohl, 2:137.

to the east into the steppe, as far as the vicinity of the small Neobrazilian settlement Leandro. There they collected above all babassu nuts and genipa fruits, quantities of which were required for the coming terminal ceremony of the festival. When they failed to return after the lapse of a week, the council decided to send a messenger after them; and when this step proved futile, a second messenger was dispatched, who returned on July 3, reporting that the girls were already on the march. On the evening of July 4 they appeared on an eminence one kilometer east of Ponto, but instead of entering the village they camped beyond it in the steppe. In a somewhat mysterious fashion the precentor Pįtó and I were invited to join them. Accordingly, we and a few girls who had not taken part in the excursion set out together after nightfall.

We found a heap of firewood, which was presently kindled. The girls now began to decorate themselves like men with tasseled forehead bands fringed with bast threads, bandoliers put on cross-fashion, wristlets and girdles with grass tails. All these ornaments were of burity bast and form decoration otherwise worn exclusively by men. The girls painted themselves with black rubber pigment, urucú, and white clay, and also decorated me in the same way. Then, led by Kaukré, they began to dance vehemently round the fire, the step being quite different from their usual style and strongly reminding me of the ŏo'ŏóre dance of the Apinayé.[illegible] After only about one hour they had sung and danced themselves into a remarkably aggressive mood: the oldest of them suddenly danced out of the circle, turning toward the fire in the center; her face had assumed a strikingly malevolent expression. She snatched a burning log from the fire and, brandishing it menacingly, jumped at Kaukré, but another woman seized her arms and disarmed her. A short time thereafter another participant attempted a similar attack against myself; and subsequently a third assistant once more advanced toward Kaukré with a bush-knife. However, in each case the would-be attackers were immediately seized and disarmed. After each attack the girls in a body uttered their quavering war cry by rapidly striking their lips with the palms of their hands.

Kaukré departed, and Pįtó, who had come there with me, assumed the supervision. The dance was constantly growing madder. Constantly and rhythmically the dancers' circle contracted till it approached the fire and then again expanded. During this maneuver they kicked clouds of sand into the flames, nearly putting them out. Kaukré leaped into the fray again, bringing his gun. First he danced beside the fire, which started up once more, then outside and round the women's circle, discharging a shot. At a distance the plaza fires were seen blazing and dance songs were audible: there it was the me'pantúa (lit. the young arms, that is, the two younger of the four age classes) who were dancing. Throughout the moonlit night the dances continued in both quarters with only minor interruptions till daybreak.

Meanwhile in the village a boy about ten years old had been covered with falcon down. He advanced, took up a position some two hundred meters from the girls' camp in the direction of the village and uttered a piercing yell. Thereupon the girls began at first to imitate exactly the dance of Timbira warriors when challenging an enemy they are facing. That is, they advanced several steps with arms raised, turned about vehemently stamping their feet, and went back. Then, led by Kaukré, they dashed toward the boy, whom they surrounded, angrily screaming at him. Thereupon the lad walked two hundred meters farther toward the village, halted and once more yelled. The preceding scene was now repeated until the girls' company finally appeared among the houses of the village periphery.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 26.

881 No sooner had the two age classes in the plaza caught sight of them than they ran shouting toward them, hurling burity staves 1 m. long at them; then they retreated to the plaza again. The girls divided their numbers along three of the radial paths and in their turn took the offensive with a volley of babassu and other nuts. They pounced upon the men, grappled with them, and tried to throw them. There ensued general wrestling bouts, lasting for only a few seconds and closing with the men's victory. Only one girl, Kentapí, bowled over her adversary. Now the two factions separated and formed two lines facing each other. Several men offered the girls the fruits they had employed in pelting. In this position they sang for a while, then suddenly united, and turned westward, yelling defiance in chorus at their western neighbors, the Apą'nyekra. Thus ended this ceremony, whose name I was unable to ascertain. It was simply designated as amnyīkapā're (amnyi = reciprocal; kapā're, throwing).

Domestic Animals

231 174 I strongly suspect the Timbira of having originally lacked dogs—in other words, any domestic animals. Nowadays every Ponto household has at least two dogs. The breed is mostly characterized by medium size and short hair, a pointed snout, and large erect ears with projecting tips. They are not badly treated, generally receiving some food after the owners' meal. Special attention is devoted to pregnant and suckling bitches; when they are about to give birth, their owners sometimes rig up old mats into a regular confinement cell for them in a corner of the house. Good hunting dogs are rare; nor are their animals particularly violent or given to biting even though they dutifully yelp at every stranger. Since they are hardly ever beaten, they are insolent and forward toward their masters. I have often admired the patience of many an Indian, who while at his meal would again and again push away his importunate dogs with a cautious movement of his hand as though he were dealing with a child. When hard put to it, a native will threaten the dog with a stick, which, however, almost always is deliberately made to strike the ground beside the beast. As stated, some dogs sleep on the platform beds with their masters. When a dog dies, it is buried like a human being, in a pit the mouth of which is covered, and earth is heaped on top.

[235] At present all steppe Timbira breed pigs and fowls, even though only in small numbers—especially our Canella, whose village harbored some forty pigs (1933) and twelve horses, to boot. They like very much to handle horses and rapidly learn to become good riders. The Krîkatí were the only one of these tribes that formerly owned a few head of cattle. Very few Timbira keep poultry, and in Ponto there were only two cats. Even today a fair number of Ponto Indians have no animals except dogs. However, Fróes Abreu goes somewhat too far in mentioning as their only true domestic beasts "several sucking pigs."[illegible] Most of the animals, even some of the horses, belong to the women.

231 Among the merely tamed pets from the forest and steppes the peccaries (usually *Dicotyles labiatus*) play the major role. They are caught young and grow very tame, but must generally be kept in cages to guard against constant brawls with the dogs. The peccaries receive the names of human beings. At the terminal solem-
[552] nity of certain major festivals (e.g., the two phases of initiation and pepkahą'k) a peccary must be ceremonially killed, made into meat pies, and paid for. The inmates of the house loudly bewail its death, while no particular fuss accompanies the slaughtering of a domestic pig.

[illegible] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 178.

231 Usually one may also see all sorts of other wild animals that have been raised in villages from infancy. Fróes Abreu mentions young steppe foxes, and I have also seen anteaters, coatis, deer, and monkeys. The favorite bird pets are young parrots, which freely fly about the village; after sunrise they keep up lively conversations on the roofs, laughing and singing dance songs. As previously noted, the Canella like to keep sariemas as guards against intruding snakes from the steppe. Only in case of necessity are tamed animals tied up—perhaps most commonly the coatis because their monkey-like climbing prevents security from their ever-prying noses. [152] I recall no instance in which animals were treated capriciously or brutally.

III. SOCIAL LIFE

SOCIAL UNITS

571 THE UNITS with which Rąmkó'kamekra individuals may be affiliated are manifold.
561 They include (a) the individual family; (b) the matrilineal extended family; (c)
616 matrilineal exogamous moieties; (d) nonexogamous rainy season moieties; (e) the
551 plaza groups; (f) the plaza moieties; (g) the age classes; (h) the age-class moieties;
184 (i) six men's societies.

Of these, the first four embrace both sexes, the remainder only men except that most of the primarily masculine organizations have each two girl associates. Membership in the matrilineal extended family and the exogamous moieties is hereditary; in the rainy season moieties, the plaza groups, and the plaza moieties it is hereditary in the sense that it hinges on the bearing of certain names transmitted from an older kinsman. An age class is constituted by joint initiation into adult status. Admission into the Clown society depends on one's talent for buffoonery; into the other societies a male enters by virtue of his names, which determine affiliation of an individual with two of the five organizations.

To the social bonds listed above may be added those involving formalized friendship; these, too, are largely connected with name transference.

Finally, there is an honorific order of hąmrén, which includes both sexes.

Since membership in a number of the units listed above depends on personal names, it seems well to premise some data on their acquisition and their relationship with the units in question.

NAMES

553 Every masculine or feminine name belongs to one of the rainy season moieties—hą'makra and atų'kmakra. Every masculine name belongs to one of the six plaza groups, Giant Snake, Bat, Carrion Vulture (eastern) and Armadillo, Dwarf Parrot, Alien Tribe (western); only two members of the female sex, the pepyé associates, belong to a plaza group, invariably to the Bats and the Dwarf Parrots. Every masculine name involves affiliation with two festive societies—either the Falcons and Jaguars (or the kŏkrį'^t), or the Ducks and Agoutis; the girl associates of these organizations serve only for one ceremonial period.

Of the ten name sets none coincides with any other. The principle for their composition is not clear. Membership in the Clowns' organization and the tąmhą'k is independent of names borne.

A number of masculine as well as feminine names are paired, establishing a formalized friendship, which, however, may be achieved in other ways.

Every individual, irrespective of sex, successively acquires from two to eight names. As a rule, the entire set borne by an individual is linked with a single one of the units mentioned above. In exceptional instances an individual receives a name that determines a change in one or more of the unit types.

551 553 The following is a noteworthy case. Hĩino and his maternal uncle Yua (=Hĩino) used to belong to the Bats (eastern plaza group), the atų'kmakra (rainy season moiety), and the Falcon-kŏkrį'^t pair of societies. At the time of Hĩino's pepyé initiation, it devolved on his plaza group to erect for him a hut for seclusion, its yard, and a latrine, but its members limited their efforts to building the hut. This so angered Yua that he left his eastern plaza group and joined the Armadillos (western). Henceforth the names Yua and Hĩino no longer belong to the Bat, but to the Armadillo series. However, both men retained membership in the atų'kmakra and the Falcon-kŏkrį'^t organizations.

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Names are transferred to boys through the matrilineal line, to girls through the patrilineal line. This contrasts with Apinayé usage, by which names are transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son and from maternal aunt to sister's daughter.[22] Normally the Canella name passes on to the next younger generation, but often one or even two generations are skipped and occasionally when the age difference is considerable the transfer may take place within a generation. The *ideal* arrangement is to have a maternal uncle convey his names to his nephew while the paternal aunt transfers hers to her niece. But of twenty-eight cases genealogically traced only five strictly conformed to this norm. The deviations result at least in part from the insistence on reciprocity. Unless the uncle has a daughter to whom his sister could pass on her own names, she would not permit the transfer of names to her son. Instead she would look for a more remote kinsman, with whom a *reciprocal* transfer could be arranged. The degree of kinship is often very remote in these name transfers. [599] Adopted kindred are reckoned exactly as though they were blood kin in these negotiations. Pųkfn transferred her name to the daughter of her adoptive brother, Hąktôkôt; Tempe gave his to the son of his adoptive sister, Terekwę'i.

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Copaternity has its effect in this respect. At Patkwei's birth her mother Kopkré indicated not only her husband, but also Hukraino as the infant's father because he had had extramarital relations with her during pregnancy. Accordingly both observed the couvade, and each considers himself Patkwei's father. In consequence Patkwei is the sister of Hukraino's legal son, Kroyamri, and passed on her name to his daughter, while Kroyamri gave *his* name to Patkwei's son. Similarly, at Pukara's birth, both Kokoet, her mother's husband, and Kokanara, who had been her paramour, kept the couvade. Pukara thus became the sister of Kokanara's son, Ropką', and passed her name on to his daughter.

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As a rule a single donor transfers his names to a single recipient. But if the donor dies before passing on all his names, another person takes his place, now transferring his own names to the recipient. In this fashion several persons change their membership in the plaza groups or rainy season moieties or both. If an individual owns names of different sets, he almost always transfers those of one set to one recipient, the others to a second person. The recipient thus acquires once more names belonging together. A typical sample of this process is furnished by Yore, who owned eight names belonging to three plaza groups and both rainy season moieties. He thus distributed them among four relatives:

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Name	Plaza groups (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season moiety	Relatives
Yô're	Dwarf Parrot (w)	atų'k	1
Ropką'	Ditto	atų'k	1
Pũnigô'k	Ditto	atų'k	2
Pąrkadą'	Alien Tribe (w)	ką'	3
Hąktôkôt	Giant Snake (e)	ką'	4
Tepkakrě'	Ditto	ką'	4
Tepadé	Ditto	ką'	4
Vaurě'	Ditto	ką'	4

I found no case in which the same donor passed on ką' and atų'k names to the same kinsman; on the other hand, in three instances the same person passed on

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[22] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 22.

553 the names of different plaza groups—in one case, even of distinct plaza moieties—to
575 the same recipient.

616 Of twenty males, only four acquired their names from several donors. On the other hand, half of an equal number of females obtained theirs in this fashion,
611 though only a single case involved a change of the rainy season moiety.

The woman numbered 20 below obtained the name Kra'napen, by which she is generally known, from the neighboring Krẽyé of Bacabal. This name is not to be transferred.

The list on pages 80, 81, and 82 gives the name series of twenty men and of twenty women with plaza group and rainy season moiety affiliations. Those names transferred by a single person are bracketed.

Some additional facts concerning name transference are given below.

Mïkrö'-Kapërtų'k-Koprekré transferred his first name to the son of his sister's daughter. He hoped to pass on his other names to two other great-nephews, but had only one other, Čïkapró, who had already received a name from another kinsman. After his great-uncle's death Mïkrö' junior claimed the two remaining names without himself using them, but with the prerogative of transferring them.

Terekwę'i-Piekóm passed on her first name to her paternal grandfather's daughter's son's daughter and died before being able to transfer the second. Terekwę'i junior claims the name Piekóm, but it must die with her because her brother's daughters have already all received names from other kinswomen.

Wakúi did not pass his name on to his sister's son because he had no daughter on whom his sister Piekų'ra might bestow her names.

Yaučëkę' did not transfer her name to her brother's daughter because she died before her niece's birth.

EXOGAMOUS MOIETIES

616 Each of these moieties occupies one-half of the village—the kę'ikateye (kę'i = east, hence: those of the east) the eastern part of the circle, the harį'kateye (harį = west, hence: those of the west) the western part, which in Ponto was somewhat larger. The children all belong to the mother's moiety. Although about a third of contemporary marriages are within the same moiety and the younger generation in part even deny the reality of the exogamous rule, the older people deprecate such shamelessness and the preponderance of exogamous unions among them proves that the principle survived until not very long ago.

The moieties are altogether equal in rank; specifically, the eastern moiety is in no way superior. Unlike the Šerénte equivalents the Canella units are not associated with sun and moon. Further, members are not distinguished by any external badges, and there is no trace of totemism.

616 The moieties under discussion centered solely in the maintenance of exogamy;
182 their ceremonial significance is practically nil. Their decadence is probably due not so much to Neobrasilian influence or the diminishing population as to the pronounced predilection of the Canella for special dual divisions in connection with ceremonial. Comparison with the organization of other tribes suggests that the functions now allotted to the rainy season and the plaza moieties, respectively, were formerly associated with the *exogamous* moieties. The creation of independent dual divisions for these purposes inevitably stripped the exogamous halves of much of their importance.

616 Snethlage erroneously ascribes a separate chief to each of the moieties and
114 wrongly regards the age classes as their subdivisions, whereas any one age class embraces members of both moieties. It is not true that the first and the second chiefs

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MALES

Names	Plaza group (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season moiety
1. Korã	Alien Tribe (w.)	ką'
Pũkon	Ditto	ką'
Kaššikám	Ditto	ką'
2. Čarẽa	Armadillo (w.)	atų'k
Itötji	Ditto	atų'k
3. Ku'hôp	Carrion Vulture (e.)	ką'
Pepkêo	Ditto	ką'
Hapĩt	Ditto	ką'
Pąnašěk	Ditto	ką'
4. Kôrěk	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	ką'
Katsą'pre	Ditto	ką'
5. Parkô	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
Katąm	Ditto	atų'k
6. Kara'hí	Carrion Vulture (e.)	ką'
Hąyiprį	Ditto	atų'k
7. Tunko	Carrion Vulture (e.)	ką'
Čepką	Ditto	ką'
Krąmpęde	Ditto	ką'
8. Yô're	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
Ropką'	Ditto	atų'k
Pũmpô'k	Ditto	atų'k
Pąrkadą'	Alien Tribe (w.)	ką'
Hąktähôt	Giant Snake (e.)	ką'
Tepkakrô'	Ditto	ką'
Tepmôt	Ditto	ką'
Vaurô'	Ditto	ką'
9. Yô're	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
Ropką'	Ditto	atų'k
10. Hąktähôt	Giant Snake (e.)	ką'
Tepkakrô'	Ditto	ką'
Tepmôt	Ditto	ką'
Vaurô'	Ditto	ką'
11. Ka'ką'	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Hôyarê're	Ditto	atų'k
Harkadą	Ditto	atų'k
12. Vi'vi	Carrion Vulture (e.)	ką'
Nõ	Ditto	ką'
13. Mikrô'	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Kopkrê	Ditto	atų'k
Kapêrtų'k	Armadillo (w.)	atų'k

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MALES—(*Continued*)

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Names	Plaza group (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season moiety
14. Koipõ'ro	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Akąrdą	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
15. Mõkrõ'	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Koipõ'ro	Ditto	atų'k
16. Rõrehõ	Carrion Vulture (e.)	atų'k
Ką'kũro	Ditto	atų'k
17. Krõtõ'	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
Nyukrarũn	Ditto	atų'k
18. Konkré	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Haką'	Bat (e.)	atų'k
Pįtõ	Carrion Vulture (e.)	atų'k
19. Ha'pęd	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
Yatrą'e	Bat (e.)	ką'
20. Parkré	Bat (e.)	ką'
Čątã	Ditto	ką'
Vẽnyo	Ditto	ką'

FEMALES

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Names	Rainy season moiety
1. Kanẽrkwẽi	ką'
Ha'katą'ĩ	ką'
2. Partąk	ką'
Wakę'	ką'
Nyõčõdn	ką'
3. Murvá	atų'k
Prįkwę'ĩ	atų'k
4. Purãkwẽi	ką'
Yõčõdn	ką'
5. Kayarí	ką'
Kakrõ'	ką'
Kukrãyét	ką'
6. Koté	ką'
Krowačã	ką'
7. Mĩkwẽi	atų'k
Kąryapą'	atų'k
8. Ho'ti	ką'
Kahẽrkwę'ĩ	ką'
9. Krąmpéy	atų'k
Te'hõk	atų'k
10. Pųkín	atų'k
Prįrẽ	atų'k
Ko'hõk	atų'k
11. Terekwę'ĩ	atų'k
Mĩkwẽi	atų'k
Krįmą	atų'k
12. Põkó	atų'k
Pipų'n	atų'k
Kačãkwę'ĩ	atų'k
Põhįkwę'ĩ	atų'k
13. Nyumkré	ką'
Konkré	ką'

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FEMALES

Names	Rainy season moiety	Names	Rainy season moiety
14. Kapërkwę'i	ką'	19. Nyõkí	ką'
Kayarí	ką'	Paléda	ką'
		Rakwę'i	ką'
15. Kąryąpą	atų'k	Rõtí	ką'
Nyõhąpakré	atų'k		
		20. Nyõ'hoadí	ką'
16. Kõrë'da	atų'k	Hakatą'i	ką'
Yątkró	atų'k	Krą'napą'n	ką'
Koté	atų'k	Tokrą'	ką'
		Yokatá	ką'
17. Ikurë	atų'k	Kahërkwę'i	ką'
Teprã	ką'	Pahík	ką'
Yoãą'n	ką'		
18. Yõkrąpakré	ką'		
Teprã	ką'		

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of Ponto represent complementary exogamous units for they happen to be brother Nor can I understand the same author's report of a dispute over trespass betwee two eminent men of different moieties, for the land is not the property of the moie ties, but of the tribe, that is, of the village community. Finally, the assertion tha each moiety is "under the supreme rule of the commandant of its age class" reveal a basic misunderstanding.

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While the matrilineal moieties of the Apinayé do not regulate marriage, com parable organizations occur in other parts of Brazil. According to a provisiona statement of Claude Lévi-Strauss's researches, the Tupí of the Machado River have exogamous patrilineal moieties coupled with a double division in age classes. The Šerénte have exogamous patrilineal moieties associated with north and south and subdivided into clans localised in the village. The Eastern Bororó also have a southern and northern moiety, but with maternal descent; each embraces seve localised clans. The Tukuna have patrilineal moieties with fifteen and twenty-on clans, none of them localised. The Parintintin also have unlocalised patriline moieties. The patrilineal moieties of the Mundurucú are split up into nineteen and fifteen clans, respectively. Tembé Indians of the Rio Acará interviewed by Estevã de Oliveira made statements suggesting patrilineal localised moieties (east and west).

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According to my own investigations, the Kaingang proper trace their descent from two heroes, Kamé and Kanyerú, associated with patrilineal, unlocalized moie ties having distinctive decorative paint. The Kamé moiety is characterised by a pattern of lines, its complement by dotted decoration. Further, each moiety is sub divided into at least three classes, which modify the moiety designs: the paí apply

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Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 167–169.

Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 21.

Métraux, 34.

Nimuendajú and Lowie, Associations of Šerénte, 408 et seq.

Colbacchini, 1–30. Cf. Lévi-Strauss, 269–304.

Nimuendajú, Idiomas, 188.

Idem., The Gamella, 225.

P. Kruse, 18, 19.

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very small dots and strokes, the votõ'ro use rings, the péñye have patches. Eduardo Hoerhan, the agent of Serviço de Protecção aos Indios who in 1914 concluded a treaty of peace with the Botocudo of Santa Catharina (Jules Henry's "Kaingang"), has sent me the following data:[18]

> These people are grouped into three exogamous and patrilinear, unlocalized major clans who claim kinship with as many legendary heroes, Uvanhêcû, [illegible], and Zêit-tscha-cá-i-lê. The members call themselves "kin" of the heroes—Uvanhêcû-caicá, etc.—but the true clan names seem to be mê-vídn, mê-cálêbn, and mê-cúi-ken. They vary in decorative paint, the mê-vídn using two parallel rows of dots on the forehead, chest, and back; the mê-calêbn, vertical strokes on the forehead; the mê-cúi-ken, circles on the forehead, cheeks, chest, and back. The heroes are also supposed to have created the animals respectively bearing similar designs; but sun and moon are not classified in this scheme. Further, variations in paint occur in subclans: the mê-to páa-pa (mê-vídn) substitute broad patches for the dots, retaining the same arrangement; the zôo-zí (mê-cálêbn) add a horizontal stroke above the vertical forehead lines; the cúi-kent (mê-cúi-ken) use a central dot with their circles.

Accordingly, the votõ'ro of the Kaingang obviously corresponds to the Botocudo-mê-cui-ken; the mê-to-páa subgroup of the mê-vídn (B.) to the péñye subgroup of the kanyerú moiety (K.); the zôo-zí subgroup of the mê-cálêbn (B.) to the péñye subgroup of the kamé moiety (K.); the cúi-kent (B.) to the votõ'ro of the kanyerú moiety (K.). The correspondences and lacunae may be represented as follows:

	Botocudo		Kaingang	
Exogamous units				
Dot decoration	mê-vídn	=	kanyerú	
Lines	mê-cálêbn	=	kamé	
Rings	mê-cúi-ken		— (see subgroup votõ'ro)	
Subgroups	?		kanyerú-ag-paí	
	?		kamé-ag-paí	
	cúi-kent		kanyerú-ag-votõ'ro	Rings
			kamé-ag-votõ'ro	
	mê-to páa-pa		kanyerú-ag-péñye	Patches
	zôo-zí		kamé-ag-péñye	

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE EXTENDED FAMILY

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The exogamous moieties are composed of individual families; the extended family is not of basic economic importance, although there is a germ of such a development in feminine house ownership. For the daughters remain in their mother's home after marriage, so that their children grow up under their maternal grandmother's care. This old woman's married brothers and sons do, it is true, reside in the houses of their mothers-in-law; but they regularly frequent the house of their mothers and her sisters. There they usually enjoy greater prestige than the husbands who have joined the household, and if a man loses his wife by death or divorce, he resumes his place in the maternal home without any formality.

It sometimes happens that a couple do not remain in the wife's mother's house but put up a dwelling of their own, either because of restricted space facilities or because the husband attaches more weight to personal independence. However, in this case the new habitation always rises immediately beside the wife's mother's. In this way an extended family may spread over several houses. These arrangements naturally promote the avunculate.

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[18] Letter of Nov. 17, 1933.

596 423 The members of a house community of the type described are obviously closer to one another than to outsiders at large, but they fail to constitute a definite economic unit among the Timbira. The plantations of the residents are ordinarily in juxtaposition, but every married woman has her own plots and the house community as such has no property apart from the domicile.

596 627 However, the entire group will safeguard the individual's rights against any injustice from the outside. On one occasion, for example, a man treated his wife badly and deserted her, whereupon her extended family met for prolix deliberations and tried to force the renegade to pay an indemnity. In this sense the safety of the individual rests on his affiliation with the major family, and during disputes one often hears such threats as: "I have a large body of kindred." To tell a man to his face that he lacks kin is an affront.

596 On the other hand, the house community plays not the slightest role in ceremonial. Further it lacks a genuine head. Theoretically the grandmother should occupy that position, but this obtains in a small minority of cases because with increasing age her daughters grow dominant. Actually the main part devolves on some matrilineal [582] grandfather or uncle, who may not even live in the house. A matriarchate and the enslavement of women are notions equally foreign to the Timbira.

Snethlage has correctly grasped the nature of this unit.[176]

RAINY SEASON MOIETIES[177]

616 221 During the meipimrą'k period, that is, from September to April—in other words, roughly during the rainy season—there are no major festivals. It is accompanied by a distinctive dual division which coincides with neither the exogamous moieties, nor the plaza moieties, nor the age-class moieties—notwithstanding the fact that it, too, is connected with the antithesis of east and west. The two groups are called ką'makra and atų'kmakra, that is, people (kra) of the plaza (ką') and people from without (atų'k). The Indians are unable to explain these designations. The female members are termed ką'kwẹiye and atų'kkwẹiye.

772 821 All of nature is antithetically divided between the two groups, as indicated by the following incomplete scheme.

ką'makra		atų'makra	
East	Fire	West	Firewood
Sun	Earth	Moon	Water
Day	Red color	Night	Black color
Dry season		Rainy season	

This dichotomy does not involve the opposition of the sexes, but extends to animals and plants: all species that are black or show marked black coloring fall into the atų'k category; all those conspicuously red or white are ką'. Maize and manioc are ką', the sweet potato and cucurbit atų'k; yams are, according to the species, divided up between the two groups. The Indians justify the allocation of the celestial bodies by referring to the sun's rising in the east and to the new moon's in the west.

553 616 611 Affiliation with a rainy season moiety hinges on a person's names, which inevitably place him in one or the other category. The name sets are transferred by the same principle that determines allocation to a plaza group; a man transfers his

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[176] Meine Reise, 464. Nordostbras. Ind., 170.

[177] It may in the future prove useful in ethnological literature to call "nonexogamous" moieties "agamic" or "agamous." These terms, already in vogue among biologists, would better designate moieties that are neither exogamous nor endogamous. R. H. L.

553 616 611 names to a sister's son, a woman to her brother's daughter. However, the sets of the ką'makra and the atų'kmakra differ from those of the plaza groups, as well as from those hereditary within an exogamous moiety. Actually, only five out of twenty-eight cases genealogically examined literally conformed to the ideal pattern. In practice, one generation, or even two, may be skipped in favor of a younger kinsman; and occasionally there is a transfer within the same generation if the individuals affected are separated by a considerable disparity of age. The deviations from the ideal scheme are connected with a principle of reciprocity already explained (p. 78).

In the process of name transference a person may change his rainy season moiety affiliation. A paternal aunt had transferred to her brother's daughter the ką' name Kentapí, but died before being able to convey her other names to the girl. As a result another patrilineal kinswoman took the deceased aunt's place; but she was atų'k, hence the first name, Nyõkí, which she conveyed to the girl automatically made the niece an atų'kkwȩiye.

616 302 The moieties now under discussion differ in decorative paint. The ką'makra are distinguished by a red angle whose apex lies at the upper end of the breastbone while the sides terminate on the shoulders; furthermore, by horizontal black lines on the body and limbs. The atų'kmakra lack the angle, and substitute vertical black lines.

616 851 The ką' battle cry is "wa-wa-wa!" that of the atų'kmakra "kȩ-kȩ-kȩ!" The birth of a new ką' or atų'k boy is thus heralded by the maternal uncle or grandmother's brother who is to pass on his names to the infant: this man steps outside the door and calls loudly the characteristic rainy season cry.

616 Each group is headed by a commandant appointed by the council, and his mother's house becomes the place of assembly for the membership. The ką' headman bears the title of iką'rkate (ką'ra = ready), that is, he who is ready; the atų'k counterpart is called kačúnkate, a term that has remained untranslatable.

616 527 The practical significance of this dichotomy is restricted to the log races and hunting trips of the meipimrȩ'k period. In the races the male members of the opposing halves—in one instance, the women too—constitute the teams. A race takes place the very first day after the close of the ceremonial period (see p. 168). Not until after this race are the men of the two groups properly divided in the plaza, where all sit down in a circle, whose eastern half is occupied by the ką'makra, while the atų'kmakra are on the western side. For the songs the best ką' log racer beats time with his coiled-up rattle girdle.

Then follow the log races, but in a very different manner from the first one just described. At first the ką'makra as challengers make the logs, the first pair not exceeding about 12 cm. in diameter and a somewhat lesser length. With each successive race the size rapidly increases until after about a fortnight the normal dimensions are attained, that is, about 50 cm. in diameter and 1 m. in length. The first pair of the ką'makra has red longitudinal lines on the surface and on each terminal plane there is a concentric red patch, whereas the atų'k equivalent has a wide diametric black stripe.

As soon as the ką' logs have attained normal size the challenging henceforth devolves on the atų'kmakra until the close of the rainy season. The first atų'k pair is, if possible, even of lesser diameter than the first ką' logs, but the length is greater, being close to 1 m. from the start. The decorative painting of the initial atų'k pair is as described above.

000 Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips

Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips

616 224 834 837 during which the hunters abstain from sex relations, but subsequently the groups exchange their women. If the hunt falls in the period of ką'makra log making, the members of this group give their opponents only a small piece of every beast killed, but supplement the present with powder, a few arrows, a bow, and the knife used for cutting up the game. The atų'kmakra act correspondingly during the period of *their* races. During the atų'k period the hunters return in a race with considerably hollowed-out logs.

616 527 After the last atų'k race, which closes the meipimrą'k season, the women of each group prepare meat pies with green maize, which is already available then, and distribute them among the membership.

616 527 604 After the beginning of the maize harvest, at the very close of the meipimrą'k period, the mepatąmẽwę'pupú (viewing of sisters' sons) ceremony takes place. The atų'k of both sexes bring new fruits from the plots and assemble outside the village, where part of the crop is cooked. Every man who has a sister's son is standing beside him and thus they march to the plaza, where the red-painted ką'makra men with *their* sisters' sons are expecting them, standing in a row. The atų'k deposit their prepared fruits before their opponents; finally one of them appears with an armful of maize cobs, which he throws contemptuously at the feet of the ką'makra men. While this is going on, each group lauds the great number and good appearance of their nephews while ridiculing their opponents'. This ceremony usually closes the meipimrą'k season.

616 575 Although the inauguration of the maize harvest and the appearance of the hõcwi society fall within this period, they are not associated with the rainy season moieties.

616 881 On the other hand, this bisection of the tribe seems to play a part in the second initiation phase, that is, during the vų'tę' season. Five weeks after the beginning of their seclusion the novices parade round the boulevard until they reach the seclusion yard of the eastern class leader. During this procession they were shielded from view by large mat shields. The novices of atų'k affiliation left the seclusion yard at nightfall in order to return each to his own hut of seclusion "for night belongs to the atų'k." On the other hand, those belonging to the ką'makra did not leave before daybreak "because daytime belongs to the ką'makra." On the day that [302] terminates their seclusion the youths appeared painted from head to foot with the *yellow* urucú pigment (p. 53). On this background they were painted, according to their affiliation, with vertical or horizontal lines in red urucú.

616 561 Further, I noted that in the races intervening between the lifting of their own and of their first commandant's seclusion the novices bore the black lines characteristic of the ką' and atų'k, respectively. Subsequently, however, only the age-class grouping made itself perceptible.

616 174 171 The dual division discussed in this section suggests even more strongly than that of the plaza groups a secondary allotment of functions originally vested in the exogamous moieties. It seems highly probable that anciently the ką'makra were identical with the eastern, the atų'kmakra with the western moiety, the former enjoying ceremonial ascendancy during the dry season, the latter during the rainy season. Only as the age classes with the vų'tę' system (p. 92) gained in importance, the ką'makra were pushed from the ceremonial of the dry season into the opening weeks of the rainy period. The dichotomy of nature associated at Ponto with the rainy season moieties is a feature of the exogamous moiety system of other tribes. This holds for the Kaingang I saw in the toldos of the Ivahy region (state of Paraná) in 1912–13: Kamé, the ancestor of one of their moieties, was described

616 174 171 as slow-moving, perseverant, and characterized by decorative painted lines; Kanyurú as nimble, inconstant, and painted with dots. All of nature was classified according to these criteria—the changing, spotted moon is Kãnyurú; the sun, Kamé, etc.

PLAZA GROUPS AND MOIETIES

616 A peculiar organization, unintelligible to me in its present form, is that of the double trio of menkąčę' groups. The term may be rendered "where or how the people stand in the plaza"; me(n) is a personal prefix, ką designates the plaza, and the suffix čą defines the place, manner, or instrument of a thing or action.

The division applies only to males, each of the six groups embracing all the bearers of a definite series of masculine names, which a boy gets by transfer from a maternal uncle. The grouping into eastern (kǫ'irumenkąčą, from kǫ'irum, in the east) and western (harą'rumenkąčą, from harą'rum, in the west) plaza halves has nothing to do with the exogamous moiety scheme, hence blood brothers and parallel cousins may belong to distinct plaza groups.

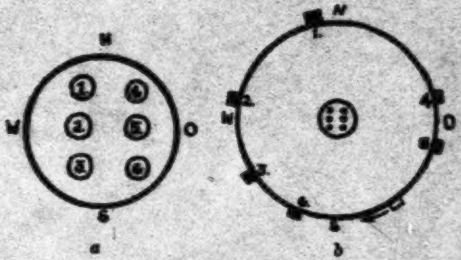

Fig. 7. *a*. Position of plaza groups: 1, Armadillo; 2, Dwarf Parrot; 3, Alien Tribe; 4, Giant Snake; 5, Bat; 6, Carrion Vulture. *b*. Position of plaza group assembly houses.

The scheme is as follows:

kǫ'irumenkąčą (eastern)	harą'rumenkąčą (western)
1. hąka, Giant Snake	aučét, Armadillo
2. čepre, Bat	kédre, Dwarf Parrot
3. čödn, Carrion Vulture	kupẽ, Alien Tribe

616 881 Each group has both a fixed station in the plaza and a house of assembly whose position at the periphery roughly corresponds to that site in the plaza (fig. 7). However, during the pepyé festival of 1932 the meeting place of the eastern čödn had been transposed to the western half of the circumference. The reason given for this exception was that the leader (mamkyẽ'ti) of the pepyé, who belonged to the čödn, was to be painted in his maternal home according to the general usage applying to these officers, and that house was situated on the west side. For his sake, accordingly, the meeting place of the group itself was shifted to that side.

The purely ceremonial main functions of these groups are exercised at the initiation festivals. They set in with the very beginning of the first phase—the capture of the prospective initiates. Two specially appointed "catchers" bring the boys out of their maternal homes, alternately leading a lad from the eastern and the western plaza moieties to the plaza, where they are opposed to each other in two parallel lines. The eastern members are led to a house on the east side for their seclusion, 616 881 and vice versa. Throughout this phase of initiation the boys always appear simultaneously, but separated into these antithetical moieties. All offices during the ceremony are dual, one incumbent representing the eastern, the other the western plaza group.

On the morning of the third day of the closing ceremony of this festival the six groups take up their positions in the plaza, and the novices are decorated with falcon down, each by the maternal uncle from whom he has obtained the names determining his plaza membership. In this ornamentation fellow members of a group aid one another and are subsequently compensated by the kinswomen of the lad they have decorated, receiving a meat pie, which is equitably divided among the group members.

The departure of the plaza groups follows a definite rule: the southernmost group of each moiety moves to join the center group, both together unite with the northern one, whereupon all three simultaneously return to the site of the center group. Thus, there are finally only two companies in the plaza, the plaza moieties, which form the teams for the immediately ensuing symbolical log race with the miniature logs of the souls of the dead (pạrare) (pl. 35, *d*).

Somewhat more varied are the functions of these units in the second phase of initiation, the pepyé festival.

Four days after the seclusion of the pepyé had begun in 1932 the čõdn group, to which the western class leader belonged, manufactured a pair of special logs, pạ'rakahák. Smaller and of lighter weight than the ordinary logs, they were further distinguished by grips projecting from the center of the terminal planes in the direction of the axis. The race track was only about one kilometer in length. The opposing teams were the eastern and western plaza moieties.

Two days later the plaza groups again appeared in the plaza, then they proceeded to erect the cells for the seclusion of each novice in his maternal home. The main part of the work always devolved on the individual novice's maternal uncle, but the entire group helped. [604]

After a three months' seclusion the pepyé were subjected to an inspection. The plaza group members, so far as they were not in seclusion, took up their positions in the plaza, then suddenly dashed simultaneously with loud yells, each group to the home of a secluded member. Penetrating the enclosure of the yard, they took up positions before the rear entrance of the cell. The novice's maternal uncle [604] stepped forward and three times uttered piercing screams, whereupon the boy called came crawling out of the little door. But hardly had he become visible than his uncle again shouted at him, thereby chasing him back indoors. Each group in turn similarly treated its secluded members, whereupon all six companies returned to the plaza, making their exit at a given signal. The seclusion was lifted two days later.

The next morning the pepyé clandestinely arranged a log race among themselves with the pạrare logs of the spirits, members of the eastern and the western plaza moiety being pitted against each other.

[431] Four days later the novices' kinswomen paid the plaza groups for erecting the cells. In front of each house of seclusion they deposited as many carrying baskets as there had been novices within the particular home. The baskets were ostentatiously topped with fruits to a height up to three times that of the containers and were tied to stages of poles to prevent their toppling over. This fee is known as põ.

The baskets remained standing all night. On the following morning the eastern and the western age classes ran a symbolical race with the pạrare, and immediately

616 881 thereupon the several plaza groups carried off their respective fees to the plaza, where the contents were poured out, assorted, and distributed among the members. On the same morning the pepyé had their hair cut and received the paint peculiar to their plaza groups. The novices took up positions in six companies corresponding to the plaza groups, standing on the west side of the village circumference, to the right and left of the former house of seclusion of the eastern class leader. Those not in seclusion appeared on the plaza in the proper order of the groups, ran up to the pepyé affiliated with them, and led them off to the appropriate meeting house. There they were painted by their hąpín with their respective plaza group designs in genipa and red urucú.

616 881 302 This decorative paint, hõkrą̃króro, consists of a stripe the width of the hand and composed of certain repetitive ornaments on both sides of the front of the body. The stripes begin on the cheeks at the level of the nose and descend across the neck, breasts, and inguinal region down to approximately the middle of the thigh. At the clavicle a narrower stripe of the same decoration branches off, extending on the anterior surface of the arms down to the middle of the forearm. Each plaza group has its peculiar pattern, but the Giant Snakes display considerable individual variability (fig. 8).

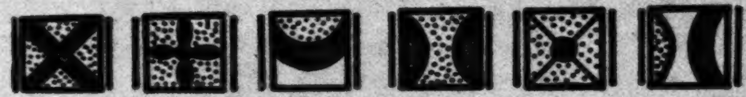

Fig. 8. Decorative painted designs of plaza groups (left to right): Giant Snake, Bat, Carrion Vulture, Armadillo, Dwarf Parrot, Alien Tribe. All solid figures within the frames are red.

616 881 Associated with this ornamentation is a burity leafstalk pole (pure) 4–5 m. in length and colored red with urucú; holding this emblem the novices marched to the plaza and sang there.

243 This plaza grouping is retained on the following days when the pepyé collect their food at their maternal homes every evening after sunset. Each group in a body successively visited the homes of all members; the sum total of the yield, however, was combined without regard to group distinctions at the novices' site in the plaza and equitably distributed among all.

[531] Eight days later, at the closing pepyé ceremony, the pure were replaced by poles of pindahyba wood with pyrographed designs (kukąkaiką'ra = ornamented pindahyba), these emblems being manufactured in the meeting houses of the plaza groups. The novices, holding these poles, marched in two parallel lines around the boulevard, the eastern plaza groups on the left, the western on the right. The procession was headed by the precentor and precentresses, the commandant and the chief acting as masters of ceremonies for the entire festival; beside each pepyé walked his prospective mother-in-law, leading him by a cord round his neck (pl. 40, *a*).

Next the two companies took up positions in the plaza, each on its own side. The pindahyba poles of the eastern groups were united in a bundle and set up on the west side, and vice versa. Then the chief conducting the proceedings uttered a yell, whereupon two down-covered pepyé came rushing out of the meeting houses of the Dwarf Parrots (western) and of the Bats (eastern), each trying to precede the other in knocking down their opponents' sheaf of poles. This closed the pepyé celebration proper.

616 Apart from their functions at initiation, the plaza groups likewise figure at the
tepyarkwá (Fish Song) festival, for throughout that celebration the east and the
881 west groups run log races. In the solemnities themselves two societies perform—
527 the me'kẽ'n (= Aquatic Birds) or Clowns; and the "Fishes" recruited from the six
plaza groups, among whom the Bats are conspicuous.

The contemporary functions of this complex scheme of three eastern and three
616 western groups with distinctive personal names, decorative paint, and meeting
174 houses hardly warrant its existence. I consider it possible that the present plaza
groups represent clans formerly localized within the village, that these units fell
182 into genealogical confusion, but retained their ceremonial obligations. The Akwẽ-
Šerénte, like the Bororo, have moieties composed of several localized clans with
ceremonial functions. Possibly the Timbira moieties shared this feature in earlier
times.

Age Classes and Age Moieties

561 The age classes result from the boys' initiation, which accordingly requires discussion
from a structural point of view, ceremonial aspects being reserved for
treatment in a subsequent section.

All males pass through an approximately ten-year cycle of initiation. Those
561 jointly initiated form a fixed lifelong age class: no one can resign or join a younger
881 or older class. Thus, apart from the as yet uninitiated boys below, say, ten years of
age, all males belong to some age class. In addition, the prospective novices at the
next initiation organize in an unofficial class, mimicking so far as possible the
youths' activities.

571 The four youngest and athletically active of the recognized classes occupy each a distinct place in the plaza, two on the east and two on the west side. This position automatically shifts with the lapse of time. Two successive entering classes always alternate as to the side of the plaza they enter: if the earlier is admitted on the east, the second inevitably goes to the west side about ten years later. With the appearance of a new class the survivors of the older active class on the same side leave the sport community, passing into the council, that is, into the very center of the plaza. The next older class of the side moves into the site thus vacated, creating in turn a gap that is filled by the newcomers. Ten years or so later the newly founded age class inaugurates a corresponding shift on the complementary side. Since the newcomers always enter on the north side, the transposition is invariably southward.

561 In figure 9 the as yet uninitiated boys are represented by a broken circle. The
age mates completing initiation in a given year are designated as pepyé (warriors),
616 and their position is marked by a double circle. The admission, shift, and exit of
all surviving classes (as of November, 1935) are schematically represented; four
classes now extinct figure with Arabic ciphers. It is thus possible to indicate the
period of admission of the oldest men now living. However, the mechanism is adequately
illustrated by the last three initiations (1913, 1923, 1933). All dates prior
to 1923 are only approximate. Generally the span of a cycle is a decade, with positive
or negative variations as great as two years.

In 1913 the cycle of age-class D (the present rópkama), which occupied the northwest site in the plaza, came to a close. Hence, the hitherto unofficial class E (the present kaprąnpotíkama) entered the scene opposite, that is, on the northeast, hitherto occupied by C (the present kokrų'tkama). Hence C moved to the site of A (the present kukóekama), a class twenty years older and then the oldest of the four classes. Consequently the survivors of A left the racing association, passing into the middle of the plaza to become councilors.

521
616

In 1923 the cycle of E was completed, hence the then boys, F (the present pōhịtíkama), acquired the northwest site, opposite E. This precipitated the shift of D to the site of B men (the present prókama), a group twenty years older; and now the surviving B, the oldest of the racing groups, advanced to councilorship.

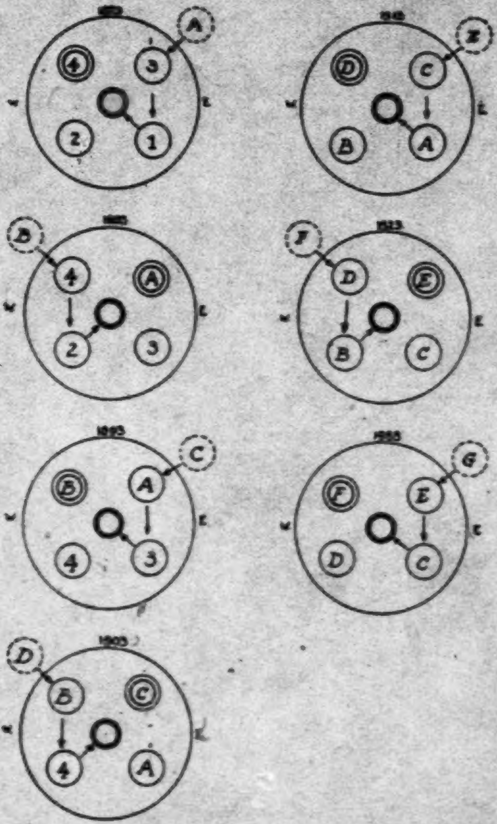

Fig. 9. Age classes.

In 1933 the cycle of F terminated, so that a new class, G (the present kra'tĩ'-kama), entered on the east side, whereupon the E group–twenty years older—occupied the site of C, which joined the council.

The recent membership for each class is given below, with the year of the completed initiation in parentheses:

Active Classes and Class Moieties

[165]

East (kọ'ikateye)	54	West (harą̃'kateye)	57
A. kra'tą̃'kama (uncompleted initiation)	31	B. pōhịtíkama (1933)	36
C. kaprąnpotíkama (1923)	23	D. rópkama (1913)	21
Council			
E. kokrọ'tkama (1903)	8	F. prókama (1893)	4
G. kukóekama (1883)	2	H. ? (1873)	—

616 561 There are thus no more than four active age classes, one pair on the east, the other on the west side. These "moieties" are closely connected with the two vu'té girls and constitute the teams pitted against each other during the ceremonial season. Since each age class includes members of both exogamous moieties, the dual division produced by pairing the classes is of an entirely different order from that of the exogamous moieties. Nevertheless, a single term, mehakrã, is applied to the concept of the class pair and the exogamous moiety; and the moiety units of either type are called by identical names ko'ikateye and hara'kateye, for the east or west moieties, respectively.

616 561 562 527 Girl associates.--The term vu'té designates both the girl associates and the ceremonial season complementary to the meipimra'k period. It is only during the vu'té season that dances and songs are proper in the boulevard; during the meipimra'k they are confined exclusively to the plaza. During the celebration of the great festival of the year the vu'té girls recede into the background, but with its close the activities of the age classes at once begin in the houses of their respective girl auxiliaries and continue until the approach of the rainy season ushers in special solemnities formally closing the season.

The vu'té are chosen at a secret and unobtrusive council meeting held on a cultivated plot some distance from the village. Primarily it is the girls' fathers who are chosen on the basis of the following qualifications:

(a) Each must have a daughter from about seven to ten years of age.
(b) One man must belong to the eastern, the other to the western age-class moiety.
(c) Both men must be industrious and sociable in order to play their part successfully, for the entertainment of the age-class moieties devolves on them, not on the girls' maternal uncles.
(d) Their wives must own diametrically opposite houses, their position as to cardinal directions being immaterial.

The girls retain office until they receive a string girdle (pl. 3, a), that is, about until puberty. Virginity is imperative; if one of the girls loses it during her term of office, she is permitted to serve until the end of the current vu'té period, but at the beginning of the next ceremonial season both girls would be superseded by new appointees. As a rule, the girls remain in office until the close of the second pepyé initiation, so that the incipient age class may start their cycle with new auxiliaries. This was true in 1933 when the põhitĩkama completed their cycle.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

92a University of California Publications in Am. Arch. and Ethn.

A vu'té should be of reserved and staid demeanor; she does not participate in the games girls of her age play in the plaza. 616 561

The eastern age-class moiety assembles in the maternal home of the vu'té whose father is of the western age-class moiety, and vice versa. 562 527

The members of an age-class moiety and their vu'té address one another as brothers and sisters and behave accordingly. When the girl's father puts up or enlarges a dwelling to provide adequate space for the moiety meetings, its members assist him, as they do when he is farming.

The eastern semicircle belongs to the vu'té of the eastern age-class moiety, and vice versa. Victorious racers arriving at the boulevard with their log always run toward the house of their girl associate, whither the losing team must follow them. Sometimes the racers continue running round the boulevard until completely exhausted. Then the victors' vu'té is likely to commiserate the fatigued runners or will bar their way by stepping in their path as they are passing her house, and will touch the log with her hand, whereupon it is immediately dropped.

Relay races and races between two competitors always start in the space before

561 the house of the challenging team's vų'tę'. The course of a relay race is from this
616 house along her semicircle, thence onward. Two competitors theoretically run
562 from the house of the challenger's vų'tę' across the plaza to the opponents' vų'tę'
527 house. In the present village the ground slopes southward in some measure, so these races always proceed from the house of the vų'tę' of the eastern age-class moiety (on the north side of the village) to the vų'tę' house of the complementary pair.

Leaders.—The two official leaders, mamkyê'ti, of a class represent, respectively,
561 the eastern and western plaza groups. Before the opening of the first initiation
881 phase they are carefully selected by the councilors from among the prospective initiates. To begin the solemnities these two boys are led out of their mothers'
624 houses and made to face each other in the plaza. Their badge is a fan of erect arara tail feathers worn at the back of the head. In the earlier phase, where the initiates of the eastern and the western plaza groups appear separately, each leader heads his group, all marching in Indian file. In the latter phase, where this dichotomy no longer holds, and after the close of initiation, the leader of the eastern moiety takes precedence.

These mamkyê'ti form part of a ceremonial aristocracy (p. 97). It is they who
561 actually govern the age classes, being possibly the only functionaries who literally
624 issue orders among the Canella, a task for which they are trained from the begin-
622 ning. Only they have the right to summon their class fellows, who are obliged to obey the call and may not assemble without their leaders. Anyone who has dealings with a class, including the chiefs, must turn to its mamkyê'ti. These leaders are subject only to the council and—during the initiation period—also to the mekapónkate (instructor, commandant), who belongs to an older class, and to his deputy, the mekapónkatekahą'k, the senior member of the class to be initiated.

In case of a leader's death no substitute is chosen. If both mamkyê'ti should die prematurely, the instructor's deputy assumes the leadership, but this is always regarded as a calamity for the class. Theoretically, the leaders are equals, but in practice the abler of the two soon gains ascendancy without, however, completely eclipsing his colleague. In contrast to the chiefs, the mamkyê'ti exercise no authority whatever beyond their age class.

561 In former times the mamkyê'ti led their class in war and in the chase, though
624 always aided by one or several older men. Since warfare belongs completely to the past and communal hunting has dwindled in importance the present signifi-
701 cance of these officers is slight—apart from ceremonial. The present situation for the several classes is as follows:

561 (a) The youngest class, kra'tį'kama, is actually governed by its mekapónkate.

(b) The next older class, põhįtíkama, has two mamkyê'ti, but they are com-
624 pletely overshadowed by the personality of Kapẽrtų'k, the second commandant
[555] and actual leader.

(c) The kaprąnpotíkama have a very able and energetic leader named Yô'ro; his colleague is no longer living. During the last pepyé ceremony of this class (1923) Cątú was their instructor; he remained with them after the close of the initiation and from sheer devotion to his pupils continues as their nonofficial commandant. Yô'ro still continues to regard him as a superior.

(d) The oldest active class, the rópkama, have only one mamkyê'ti, Koipô'ro, the other having died.

616 The term mamkyê'ti, evidently connected with kyê, exogamous moiety, suggests
174 that the leaders originally represented the exogamous halves rather than the plaza

616 174 moieties; or that their office dates back to a time when these two types of dual division coincided.

561 623 886 *Exit from the age class.*—When retiring, the kukrų'tkama, men about fifty years old, whose cycle was completed in about 1903, had dwindled to a membership of eight. Their leaders, as well as the deputy instructor, had long been dead, and the class as a unit played only a subordinate social part: meetings were rare and hardly ever fully attended in the proper site of the plaza; and there was little participation in log races. On the other hand, some of them who enjoyed a certain prestige almost regularly appeared in the council. Nevertheless they had by no means forgotten their kukrų'tkama affiliation.

When the pepyé festival of 1933 closed the initiation of the pǫ̈hį̈tíkama, the boys (kra'tį̈'kama) entering on the northeast side of the plaza, the kukrų'tkama yielded their place to the advancing kaprųnpotíkama. Ten days after the festival all the survivors once more assembled in decorative paint and grass costume in order to run their last log race, in which eastern and western age classes were pitted against each other. Subsequently they did not appear jointly except in the council, with the numerically insignificant survivors of two older classes.

561 464 *Economic role.*—Compared with their socioceremonial and sportive importance, the economic activities of the age classes are quite subordinate. No class as such owns any property; even the place of assembly into which the vų'tų''s house is transformed belongs exclusively to her mother. At the opening of a vų'tų' season the members of a class must humbly ask for this woman's permission before starting their performances there. However, there are two occasions on which the classes engage in economic labors, though not in systematic fashion.

In the first place, they build houses for persons otherwise engaged in matters of public concern. Thus, the two junior classes erected the dwelling of a woman whose husband was a tribal delegate in the state capital. Further, even without such compelling motive the class will help a fellow member put up his house. In 1935 I witnessed the hurried erection of a house by the pǫ̈hį̈tíkama, whose deputy instructor's wife was looking forward to her delivery in the near future.

561 243 476 623 Secondly, age classes assist in harvesting. Since farming is growing in importance every year, the classes play an ever larger part at crop gathering, especially at the anciently nonexistent rice harvest. For meteorological reasons it is essential to harvest this crop as expeditiously as possible; though the prospective beneficiary cannot afford to abandon his crop at this time, he is often expected to attend the commencement of a major festival in the village. For several years it has been customary not to begin the great celebrations before the garnering of the rice, and to obviate delay for the whole settlement, the age classes then help those who are behind schedule. Whoever requires such aid appeals to the councilors to send him the junior age class of his own class moiety. The council decides as to the possibility of such assistance, for the class may already have been requisitioned for other tasks, and communicates the decision to two class leaders. In case of an affirmative reply the young men as a body appear at the appropriate site, for occasional dances accompanied by a number of girls of their own age. Rarely does the class receive any remuneration, consisting in that case of a small share of the crop, which the leaders subsequently arrange to have prepared for all members. [461] As a rule the beneficiary merely feeds her assistants, who, to be sure, by no means overexert themselves, dawdling to such an extent that I was sometimes puzzled to know whether their collaboration was worth while. However, toward the end of the rice harvest they are constantly occupied.

575 The festive societies and the King Vultures (p. 98 f.) render similar assistance[1] to *their* members.

561 184 But while the growth of agriculture adds to the practical work of the classes, there is diminution by the lessening importance of the communal hunts and the complete elimination of war raids.

616 *Corrections.*—Some of my own earliest statements, as well as some of Snethlage's, require explicit correction.[illegible]

561 881 114 The complete initiation requires not three to five, but about ten years; the number of class leaders is two, not one; not the three, but the four youngest classes are actively engaged in sport; the terms kỳ'ikateyê and harâkateye do not—in this connection—designate the exogamous moieties, but their namesakes, the eastern and western class moieties; the classes meet in the houses of their vų'tę', not of their commandants.

It is quite wrong to speak, as Snethlage does, of a "men's tribal society" into which boys and youths are admitted after numerous tests and ceremonies. The total number of age classes is indefinite, and their totality does not constitute one grand organization. Further, the commandants do not form the elders' council which is really made up of the survivors of no longer athletically active classes, irrespective of their previous incumbency as commandants. As already explained, an exogamous moiety is not headed by "the commandant of its (?) age class," for it has no headman at all. Finally, it is thoroughly confusing to say that a married man continues to take part in the activities of his age class, "*which does not admit his wife's brothers.*" Since the classes have nothing to do with the exogamous moieties but are each composed of age mates of *both* moieties, a man and his brothers-in-law may very well belong to a single class.

THE MEN'S SOCIETIES[illegible]

575 There are six organized men's societies, which appear only during certain festivals. They are: rop, Jaguars; kukén, Agoutis; koikayú, Ducks; hąk, Falcons; kôkrį't, Water Monster (masqueraders); me'kē'n, Aquatic Birds (buffoons). For convenience the last two may be referred to as Mummers and Clowns, respectively.

Possibly the Fish companies at the tepyarkwá festival and the hôčwá at the sweet-potato ceremony might also be reckoned under this head. Not so the King Vultures, who must be put into a different category (p. 98).

The societies are referred to as me'kwę', a term also applied to the age classes. A man will say, "meikwę' pê kukén," I belong to the Agouti society. Usually a society has some thirty members. Except for the Clowns, the organizations are entered by virtue of one's names (p. 77). Many Indians simultaneously belong to [184] more than one society, but in that case the several societies are usually such as are not obliged to appear at the same time. For instance, one Tunkô' is a Falcon, a Jaguar, and a Mummer. In addition he also served as a substitute for the Little Falcon in the terminal ceremony of the vų'tę' season and was head of the King Vultures.

575 554 Each society has a head appointed by the council and called hôpa'hí, like the tribal chiefs. He is chosen for his gaiety and eloquence, being expected to infuse life into the festive proceedings.

575 522 Though women are not admitted to regular membership, each society has two girl associates, mekuičwę'i. There is no indication that they anciently represented

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, Bruchstücke, 671. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 167, 169, 170.

[illegible] These societies evidently are quite distinct in function from the Serente men's organizations. See Nimuendajú, The Šerente, 59–64. R. H. L.

1[i.e. collective labor in harvesting ---Analyst.]

575 562 the two exogamous moieties; they certainly do not represent them nowadays and never did in the Fish companies of the tepyarkwá festival. The two girls are chosen from a part of the village circumference corresponding to the situation of the society in the plaza; and the Fish Otters have a single girl associate.

The head of a society nominates the girls, who are appointed by the council. The councilors notify the families, which, however, have the right to decline. More particularly, the girl's maternal uncle may refuse his permission, while the prospective (at present sometimes the actual) husband has no say in the matter.

The appointee is always a girl on whom the girdle has not yet been bestowed (p. 119). Such a girdle is not presented to her until the close of her term of office as a mekuičwę'i; formerly marriage occurred subsequently to this ceremony. In general the Falcons, Jaguars, and Mummers, as well as the several Fish companies, still aspire to having virgins for their associates. Not so the Agoutis, Ducks, and hōčwá, who are content with selecting any young women. The Clowns choose two ex-vų'tę', who accordingly are already married.

The girls constantly accompany the membership of their society. Their duties are few, embracing such work as is deemed inappropriate for men, viz., cooking, especially in the earth oven, fetching water, and the like. In addition they comb and paint the men, for which purposes they carry a rod-comb and a little bowl with urucú hanging down their backs from a cord (pl. 20, *a*). As a member of the Agouti society in 1935 I saw a girl dismissed because she had neglected even these few tasks and would altogether absent herself from the organization, which accordingly asked for the appointment of a successor.

575 837 562 Amours may develop between the girls and the members, especially during their rovings for days at a time over the steppe. In consequence engagements are broken and couples already living together separate. Mainly to avoid this risk families often refuse to let their girls assume office, so that it tends more and more to fall into the hands of wantons (p. 130). However, it is by no means the essential purpose of the institution to provide mistresses for the membership: in former times the girls departed from their association as virgins, and in general the members still hold them in esteem.

575 526 The festive societies are in part leagued together, in part pitted against one another. The Jaguars and the Agoutis who jointly appear at the closing ceremony of the vų'tę' season are opponents; and when they figure at the Mummers' festival the Mummers side with the Agoutis. In the pepkahą'k festival the Falcons, allied with the pepkahą'k, are opposed to the Ducks, and the teams of log racers during the festival are recruited from these two societies. Similarly, the Clowns side with the pepkahą'k and the Falcons.

575 555 [156] The Clowns differ from the other societies in the mode of entrance, which hinges on a person's inborn capacity for buffoonery so that any one confident in his gifts may join. But since this talent is not especially developed among the Timbira, the number of members is small—about a dozen—and at times diminishes to a point where the society feels compelled to woo recruits, especially if the Clowns seem too few for their duties at tepyarkwá. Then they invite a suitable man from each of the six plaza groups to join their number. At the pepkahą'k festival the Clowns usually succeed in persuading this or that King Vulture who finds the social obligations of that order too onerous to join them in the destruction of a wasp nest the Ducks have put up in front of the seclusion hut of the pepkahą'k. This act automatically expels the member from the King Vultures.

575 The Clowns appear as an organized body only at the pepkahą'k and the tep

575 yarkwá festivals. On these occasions they assemble in a special house lying toward
the north on the eastern half of the circumference. However, the Clowns may also
be seen singly or in small groups on many other occasions, even in everyday situations; but they withdraw from all the more serious and solemn ceremonials.

In their public performances the Clowns are distinguished by their grotesque
575 make-up as to paint, ornaments, and other paraphernalia; and their behavior is
522 correspondingly absurd. They affect a ridiculous gait and mien and deceive the
536 villagers by harmless lies and false alarms without evoking resentment.

For example, when a boy's ear lobes are pierced, his maternal uncle kills a deer on some unspecified day, dissects it, packs the slices into a basket, and furtively carries this to the plaza. No sooner have the women caught sight of him than they dash out of their houses with knives in order to snatch off a piece of meat in the general scrimmage. One morning when this episode had been due for several days there finally loomed a figure at daybreak that ran toward the plaza carrying a load, which it hurriedly deposited before taking to its heels. At once the women and girls rushed over with yells, fell upon the basket pell-mell, and tore it open, each trying to seize as much as she could of its contents. But this proved to consist of straw, rotten wood, rusty tin cans, and a few rocks. Not only the Clowns, but the whole village laughed at the women standing flabbergasted before their "booty" with their knives and finally they themselves joined in the general merriment.

At certain house-to-house processions the Clowns try to steal food and are sometimes beaten by the women, to everyone's amusement.

At pepkahą'k four of them, with their two girl auxiliaries, enter with face masks of *Lagenaria* rind.

However, the ceremonial activities of the Clowns, as well as of the other organizations are best considered in the description of the festivals.

THE HĄMRÉN

554 This honorific order comprises five otherwise unrelated groups which share public
622 esteem and ceremonial eminence: (1) the village chiefs (pa'hí); (2) the leaders
(mamkyê'ti) of the age classes; (3) those girls who are associated with the boys
562 during their initiation ceremony and are called pepkwę'i after the close of the
561. initiation; (4) the women's precentresses (mehõkrepúi); (5) the King Vultures
(tamhą'k). Because of the numerical preponderance of the last-named group over the others combined, the term hąmrén is often used as a synonym for tamhą'k; properly it means "recovered from illness."

The first three groups of functionaries are appointed by the council on the basis of personal fitness. This also determines the choice of a precentress, but she is usually selected by the girl's family.

622 Notwithstanding the respect accorded to the hąmrén, they are not coextensive
623 with the persons of distinction, for the councilmen, who (with the chiefs) rule the
tribe and are always approached reverentially with a bowlful of food, are by no
562 means hąmrén *as* councilors, but only through special circumstances. Similarly,
554 the precentor, though far more important than his female colleague, is never
hąmrén *ex officio*.

778 The natives link the concept of hąmrén with that of something special, superior,
more refined, so that they are somewhat distinct from the rest of the population.
554 The head of the King Vultures compared them to the "doutores" of Neobrazilian rustics, who apply the term to all intellectuals, superior officials, etc., irrespective of academic rank. By contrast all other residents are classed as mekakránkra (me,

778 554 [784] personal prefix; kakrén, unripe; kra, people). This term does not suggest socia immaturity, but brings out the point that the mekakrénkra may eat unripe frui while for the hąmrén all that is not completely mature is taboo. Further, a hąmrén never eats of the first part of a crop lest he be attacked by snakes or other venomous beasts. A hąmrén who should taste of a green gourd would be afflicted wi wounds on his body; in gathering honey he must not eat it directly from the bees' nest, but must first put it on a gourd bowl, otherwise he would be likely to g injured by stepping on the stump of a tree. He would incur the same risk if h were to carve implements, such as clubs or arrowheads, from pau roxo wood i the plaza, where men frequently work manually during the meetings held ther The "unripe people" are immune to such perils.

Because of the above-mentioned confusion of the words hąmrén and tamhą'k I am not clear how many of the numerous restrictions which hedge in the King Vultures apply to the whole order. In any case the taboos listed suggest that a hąmrén is invested with a superior bodily sensitiveness.

778 554 766 Formerly all the hąmrén had a distinctive mode of burial, a custom only partly maintained at present. Properly, the corpse of a hąmrén (and none other) ha falcon down glued on it; and the interment takes place not behind the deceased person's maternal home, but in front of it, on the inner margin of the boulevard. Finally, secondary burial was confined to this order, though conceivably this wa once the rule for all, but persisted for the hąmrén when it had long lapsed for th rest of the people.

778 554 171 Outside the Canella I have encountered nothing at all suggestive of this hąmrén institution except among the Kaingang in the Rio Ivahy district (state of Paraná). Here there are at least three classes (p. 82 f.)—paí, votóro, and péñye, the firs ranking highest (cf. Guarani: paí, a person of prestige) and comprising the chiefs. It enjoys ceremonial prerogatives, such as sitting on a white caraguatá blanket; and is credited with peculiar sensitiveness to noxious influences. For that reason, the chief Vegmã' told me, he had bestowed on his naturally feeble son a péñye rather than a paí name. These classes have distinctive duties in the cult of the dead. A father may assign his child to whatever class he pleases, its affiliation being symbolized by the name it bears. Unfortunately my data are very imperfect. According to Hoerhan, the Botocudo of Santa Catharina—closely related to the Kaingang, though not identical with them—have some comparable institution (p. 83).

Of the first four of my hąmrén categories, the chiefs are best considered under the head of Government, the others in connection with the discussion of ceremonialism.

794 As for the King Vultures, I at first mistook them for an ordinary men's society, for at certain dances and log races their behavior hardly differs from that of the Ducks or Falcons. But soon I recognized them as a wholly distinct type of unit, seeing that they are *ipso facto* hąmrén, in fact, form the bulk of the order. Further, while the societies figure ceremonially only at certain definite festive periods and in a markedly dramatic fashion, the King Vultures have permanent functions of pronouncedly magical and social significance. Finally, they are without girl associates.

794 825 The word tamhą'k is a synonym for kukriti (king vulture [*Gypagus papa*]), with whom the members claim kinship, designating him as kedti (maternal uncle). However, they do not in any way worship or revere this bird, nor do they mak ceremonial use of its feathers or parts of its body. As the king vulture makes food available to the ordinary black vultures (by tearing open the carrion against which their weak bills are impotent), so a King Vulture feeds others.

794 Membership is not transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son, but goes with
the honorary chieftainship of an alien Timbira tribe. When one Timbira group
619 visits another, the hosts glue falcon down on one of the guests, preferably a young
574 man, paint him with urucú, and make him present himself before the councilors
in the plaza with a bowlful of food. By this rite he becomes their honorary chief,
554 mehöpa'hí, which is reckoned a great distinction. This ceremony always takes place
shortly before sunset, the time when the girls are singing and the elders assembling
in the plaza. At a return visit to their erstwhile guests, the former hosts look up
the man thus chosen, who billets them on his mother or wife or both, charging
himself with their entertainment.

In 1930 Vicente Kratpê', the chief of the Krahô', who had incurred the animosity
of the Apinayé, made an offer of peace and amity through me. In dictating the
574 message to me, he explicitly referred to their having appointed his son a courtesy
[648] chief and urged them to visit their mehöpa'hí.[illegible] In 1931 the Guajajára paid their
first visit to the Rąmkô'kamekra, who chose one of their young men as honorary
chief. He was probably little pleased with the consequences of his elevation, for
henceforth whole bands of Rąmkô'kamekra would descend upon him for continuous and prolonged visits.

In short, it is an honorary chief's duty to provide food for the members of the tribe by which he has been honored. Of the four tribal groups united at Ponto—the predominant Rąmkô'kamekra, the Čą'kamekra, the Krô'rekamekra, and the Karĕkateye—each has one or more of these courtesy chiefs in each of the others—the more, the better in the interest of their food supply. It is the totality of these courtesy chiefs, who in 1931 numbered thirty-four, that constitutes the order of King Vultures; and since the tribal chiefs are hąmrén, the title is extended likewise to the tamhą'k.

794 This is the only way of becoming a King Vulture. It does happen frequently that
778 as a man grows older his electors choose his sister's son as successor to his aging
uncle because youth is deemed essential for the magical practices of the order. But
611 the specific relationship is inessential. In one case a son was appointed to supersede
his father, and other youths were chosen though neither their fathers nor their
uncles had ever been tamhą'k. This principle applies also to the post of leader of
the order.

794 Adopted by a Čą'kamekra family, I am classed accordingly in the village. Čątú,
123 my hąpínpéy (see p. 100), is a Rąmkô'kamekra proper and in 1930 had me initiated
as tamhą'k by his tribe.

554 A King Vulture ought to be generous to his electors and to conform in every
way to native standards of conduct. If he returns with game and meets a member
576 of the tribe that has honored him, he deposits his spoils before him as a gift and
794 silently departs. All tamhą'k give presents to the groups that have chosen them
as courtesy chiefs. On the other hand, when people at large have killed game, the
King Vultures (like the other hąmrén) share in the first portions distributed. The
ideal behavior expected of a tamhą'k seems to be also imposed on his next of kin:
an Indian who had deserted his wife without just cause was reminded of his son's
quite recent admission to the King Vultures.

Initiation may occur at a very early age, say, from six to ten years on, so that the order includes many lads and no really old men.

794 The magic of this order rests on the belief that the King Vultures, especially if
789 young and vigorous, beneficially influence activities they inaugurate and objects

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 19 f.

771 they handle. This view finds expression in the rituals of economic life in its severa
phases. A tamhą'k is the first to taste of certain fruits in order to augment th
789 crop; he lights the grass in a communal drive to ensure a plentiful kill; he mak
[788] the first incision in the hide of a slain tapir so that it may prove fat; and wh
fish are drugged, he precedes others in stepping into the water to spit the fir
victims, thus promoting an abundant catch thereafter.

794 Many tamhą'k consider their obligations a nuisance and formally resign by join-
ing in the destruction of a wasp nest in the pepkahą'k (p. 214). This seems to be
156 the only method of resignation.

It is only during the pepkahą'k that the King Vultures figure as an organize
794 unit, and then only during the last fortnight of that festival, when they appe
302 as allies of the Clowns, Falcons, and pepkahą'k, participating in sundry dance
and log races, which culminate in the great ceremonial feeding of the tribal group
by the tamhą'k. On this occasion all the King Vultures wear the identical decora-
tion, viz: On their backs, chests, arms and thighs their matrilineal kinswomen giv
vertical stripes of falcon down to the width of three fingers; this distinguishes the
from other hąmrén, who are completely covered with down at ceremonials. Th
bare parts of the body and limbs are daubed red with urucú. The occipital hair i
tied together, and has fastened to it a rattling ornamental bundle of some thirty
carefully smoothed bamboo rods, about 30 cm. long and of the thickness of lead-
pencils. The tuft of the wearer's hair is pulled through a plaited ring at the to
of the ornament; two long arara feathers—rarely worn at present because th
species is almost extinct in this region—are thrust through the ring so as to projec
obliquely upward and outward.

FORMALIZED FRIENDSHIP BONDS

1. *The hąpín-pinčwę'i bond*

608 This social bond most frequently springs from name transference. A man wh
conveys his name to a sister's son or equivalent and a woman who bestows hers o
a patrilineal kinswoman thereby make the boy the hąpín and the girl the pinčwę'i
of all those who by similar transfer had become the uncle's and the aunt's "friends."
For every personal name involves this bond with the bearers of from six to te
other names, masculine and feminine, including individuals of alien Timbir
tribes. Thus, Tunkõ''s hapín are the bearers of the masculine names Kaukré; Kẽẽa;
Prjõet; Ke'ké; Pepkrõ'; Pąnatẽ'k; Kukaprõ'. His pinčwę'i are the women name
Krąkupẽ'; Nyõñą'n; Ikurẽ'.

Among these there is always a special friend (hąpínpey and pinčwę'ipey; pey =
good, proper, real), viz., the bearer of a particular name who assumes the obliga-
tions connected with this bond in the fullest sense, while the other hąpín take the
much more lightly.

Much more rarely the tie is established either au[illegible]tically through joint exer-
cise of certain ceremonial offices or by voluntary ar[illegible]gement. The latter take
two forms. First, a person may tie an ornament of no particular type round a
pregnant woman's neck and thereby become the hąpín of the infant as soon as it
is born. This bond holds regardless of the child's sex and is considered to impo
obligations as strong as those which hinge on the bearing of certain names. Se-
572 condly, youths and their girl associates may choose one or more "friends" durin
571 the pepyé phase of initiation. The day after their seclusion is lifted the novice
limiting themselves to their own age class, make their choice while camped in th
woods by a creek near the village. If two initiates not yet so coupled by virtue o

572 eir names desire to become "friends," they enter the creek, which is about a meter 571 depth, stand back to back, dive and simultaneously swim away in opposite irections, rise to the surface, and turn about so as to face each other. The relationhip thus formed is taken less seriously than in the preceding cases, but may be nherited.

Especially at secret nocturnal meetings during the pepyé phase of initiation the 608 first commandant of the novices explains the twofold obligations of "friendship," 627 viz., mutual respect and solidarity. Respect is manifested in various ways. Speaking of or to one another, friends never use personal names, invariably substituting the terms hąpín and pindẽwę'i without the pronominal prefix, and in the second case mostly resorting to teknonymous paraphrasing. If two "friends" meet on a narrow trail, neither yields precedence, both turning aside to the right or the left until past each other. A hąpín and his pindẽwę'i must neither marry nor philander; indeed, in conversation they must avoid erotic references, including mention of anything relating to their own sex experiences. Even friends of the same sex converse seriously, neither laughing at the other or mocking him. If a dispute is unavoidable, it must not be carried on in the presence of others. In case of a definite breach the chief preferably appoints as arbiter one who is a hąpín to both parties; and similarly, in a conjugal quarrel he appoints the hąpín of the husband or the wife to make peace, the spouses being under obligation to heed this umpire's admonitions.

Too much mutual familiarity is forbidden to "friends." When conversing they do not look at each other, but stand abreast, each gazing straight ahead. At the Mummers' entrance into the village, girls customarily tie badges to the horns of the paraders, thereby becoming their respective "mothers"; but a masquerader mutely declines this favor by a movement of his shoulders if he recognizes the girl as his pindẽwę'i.

No hąpín may beg of another. It was sometimes droll to watch Çątú, one of the worst mendicants in the village, inwardly struggling to restrain himself from begging of me. If I absolutely refused to take a hint, he would wait for a moment when [577] we were alone, then with timid glances round about he would say in a subdued voice, "hąpín, you know . . . I am not allowed to say anything . . . but . . ." Only when pressed would he express his wishes in plain terms.

The second obligatory attitude, that of solidarity, sometimes assumes grotesque forms. Complementary to the prohibition of mutual mendicancy is the duty to look out for another hąpín's needs and to supply them by spontaneous presents. They also make common cause in danger and in dispute. Odd is the official appeal for aid in a difficulty. The suppliant waits for an assembly in the plaza, then steps in front of his friend, but with his back toward him, publicly explains his plight, and then goes home. The hąpín is then under obligation to do what he can in his friend's behalf.

123 But in case of danger a hąpín ought to leap into the breach spontaneously. During my periodic palavers with whisky dealers and other such bearers of culture 608 Çątú quite unobtrusively soon takes up a position nearby, leaning on his enormous sword club, and watches the course of events. Sometimes he brings along several members of his age class. Subsequently he is likely to approach and apologize, "Look, hąpín, I know you told us not to interfere, but he might have become impudent." And at that Çątú is by no means a teetotaler!

In case of an accident it is a meritorious act for a friend to prove his loyalty by voluntarily undergoing the same pain. Once I slightly injured my arm; as soon as

123 Čąttú heard about it he gashed himself in the corresponding spot with a knife. Such
608 a display of friendship is usually rewarded with a present.

For a pinčwę'i such performances are carried to a grotesque degree: Once a little girl had been stung by a scorpion, whereupon her two pinčwę'i executed a mad
608 scene before the assembled throng outdoors. While the child was howling with pain
522 inside, the women acted as though they had caught the scorpion (which had long since got away) and were allowing it to sting them. Then they pretended crushing it between their fingers and devouring it. In addition they indulged in all sorts of antics, evoking general mirth.

152 Similar nonsense is also practiced whenever a "friend" is ceremoniously distinguished, that is, especially at the beginning or the termination of seclusion in the initiation and the pepkahą'k festivals. Then the friends carry on most extravagantly around their hąpín by way of displaying their mad exultation over the distinction conferred on him. On one occasion a man straddled his sword club as though it were a hobbyhorse and wildly galloped about, wielding his signal trumpet as a crop; another howled and scratched up the earth like a dog; still another pulled back his prepuce and simulated copulation. Most commonly they dance about with protruding tongues, grotesquely swinging their limbs and their heads.

Mutual ceremonial obligations are extremely numerous and intricate. A friend
608 invests a person with ornaments, glues falcon down on his body, and paints him.
302 When the first commandant of the pepyé is freed from seclusion, his pinčwę'i decorates him. If possible it is a hąpín that paints a pepyé with the designs of his plaza group; and at pepkahą'k the pinčwę'i glue falcon down on the King Vultures and the similar decoration of the pepkahą'k themselves devolves on corresponding
[768] girl friends. Anyone who has been excluded from social intercourse by long absence or seclusion due to illness, mourning, and the like, cannot resume normal participation in the communal life unless he is first painted by a pinčwę'i or hąpín and has thus presented himself before the council in the plaza. Whenever, for example, I return to the tribe, my pinčwę'ipey, Kaiŋ', paints me and, because of my status as a King Vulture, hence, hąmrén, she also decorates me with falcon down. At a major ceremony of the great festivals the friends of either sex are compensated for their services with meat pies offered by the decorated performers' kinswomen; otherwise a minor gift constitutes their fee.

[764] When set on the bier, a man's corpse is painted by his pinčwę'i, a woman's by her hąpín, falcon down being substituted in case of a hąmrén. The remuneration is not taken from the dead person's property.

In most cases the decoration worn at a ceremony is surrendered at its close to
608 the wearer's hąpín and pinčwę'i. At the end of a pepyé seclusion the comb with
292 which a novice's sister had stroked his hair was immediately turned over to his pinčwę'i, who suspended it from her neck. After the solemn parading of the first pepyé commandant subsequent to the lifting of his seclusion, his pinčwę'ipey immediately removed all his decorative outfit, viz., his forehead and girdle bands, bandoleers, and cotton belt; and nothing could induce her to sell me these regalia. The two girls graduating with the pepyé were divested by their pinčwę'i at the girls' final appearance in the plaza, while their hąpín appropriated the presents laid down for that purpose before them by the girls' kinswomen. At the close of their festival the pepyé, decorated with cloths, beads, and green tucum cords, left for a log race against the next oldest age class; at the exit from the village their pinčwę'i surrounded them and took off all their ornaments. Similarly, the women and girls who twice divest the pepkahą'k of their yellow cords are the wearers' "friends."

608 362 At pepkahą'k a man specially appointed and his assistant cut off the long occipital hair of the Falcons' pinčwę'i and of the King Vultures' "friends" of either sex. The clipped hair is united in a tuft and suspended from a tree outside the village.

608 364 Further, on certain occasions it devolves on the hąpín and pinčwę'i to clean the streets used for ceremonies in which their friends take part. Thus, at the pepkahą'k festival the friends of the pepkahą'k cleaned the radial paths from the performers' maternal homes to the plaza; and the King Vultures' friends cleaned the radii on which this order appeared for their main ceremony. The kinswomen of the persons on whose behalf this service is rendered always pay the workers with food. It should be noted, however, that at other festivities street cleaning devolves on definite societies.

608 In certain ceremonies a man carries his hąpín astride his shoulders. Thus, at a terminal vą'tę' solemnity the Little Falcon, a boy of about four, straddled his hąpín's neck, for the maternal uncle who had bequeathed the office to him and was the child's proper introducer was no longer living. At the pąrąre race of the terminal ceremony in both phases of initiation the two new class leaders ride on the shoulders of their hąpín.

608 575 In other cases "friends" serve as quasi-protectors of ceremonial performers. Thus, when the down-covered Little Falcon parades round the boulevard at the close of the Mummers' festival, his friends protect him against the Agoutis swarming around in order to tear the glued down from his body. At the inspection of new class leaders toward the end of pepyé their hąpín, with transversely extended sword clubs, seemed to bar the older age class from access to the hut of seclusion, but finally they left the way clear. For this act the two leaders' kinswomen brought bowls of food, which were put in front of the defenders' houses. At the close of their festival the pepkahą'k assembled with the King Vultures in a house, where the pinčwę'i of the former glued falcon down on them; when the Falcons approached, the friends of the pepkahą'k denied them ingress, holding poles in transverse position, and were rewarded with meat pies.

794 608 On the eve of the King Vulture ceremony the members' pinčwę'i have a special duty while the pepkahą'k and the King Vultures chant in the plaza. Spreading over their own backs the mats the pepkahą'k have made for the King Vultures, the girls formed a close circle round the dancers in order to shield them from the nocturnal cold. For this service they had received an advance payment of small meat pies from the King Vulture's kinswomen and in addition retained the mats.

608 171 From personal experience I know only a single phenomenon somewhat parallel to this hąpín bond of the Timbira, viz., the maĩtúma institution among the Šipaya, a tribe on the Rio Iriry, a large affluent of the lower Xingú. These people speak a language similar to Tupí and are in every respect close to the Yurúna. Their maĩtúma seems to have been connected with the cult of their national and war spirit, Kumãp̃ári. In any case during zetabįa, a purely religious festival dedicated to this spirit, those wishing to become maĩtúma were obliged to step before his wooden statue (upãšĩ) and to utter their wish. On behalf of the spirit the medicine-man would reply and blow tobacco smoke at the suppliants, who then jointly drank fermented manioc. The maĩtúma bond obliged partners not to quarrel with each other, to manifest mutual respect and helpfulness, and to abstain from indecent speech in each other's presence. In Portuguese both the Šipaya and the Timbira render the terms maĩtúma and hąpín, respectively, by "*compadre.*"[illegible]

[illegible] Nimuendajú, Bruchstücke, 1923.

2. *Kwų'nõ'*

572 The kwų'nõ' differs radically from the hąpìn relationship in lacking its manifol ceremonial and onerous obligations, for which it substitutes the boon companio ship of young age mates.

The tie is formed exclusively by voluntary agreement during the final pepyé of an age class, specifically on the same occasion used for cementing the hąpìn relationship. The candidates step into the brook, grasp each other standing abreast, jointly dive, and swim as far as possible below the surface of the water without relinquishing their grip. The two girl associates also become kwų'nõ' to a fair number of age mates at this juncture.

The term of address, irrespective of the sex of the person spoken to, is iykwų'nõ' (iy = the first person pronoun singular). Very often the term assumes the form iynõre (= re, the diminutive suffix).

The tie is reckoned indissoluble, at least in theory lasting until one partner's death; practically it is of importance only in youth, for persons over forty years or thereabout no longer use the above terms of address nor have I been able to note anything relevant to this bond at that time of life.

Kwų'nõ' are expected to be particularly good comrades, constantly accompanying and aiding each other—formerly, above all on war expeditions. In their speech and jesting they are unrestrained by the other's presence, and each may publicly reprove and make fun of the other as soon as he offers an opening. This is not resented as an insult, but considered a friendly service; no one takes umbrage at a kwų'nõ''s mockery

572 837 The handsomest proof of true kwų'nõ' friendship consists in the occasional exchange of wives, but the women's consent is prerequisite. When all concerned are agreed, the matter is arranged quite unobtrusively, such friends being in any case in the habit of paying each other visits. If during such a visit the husband should be alone with his wife, he may say, "iynõre, I am going out for a while, you may remain here." The recipient of such courtesy is subsequently obliged to repay the favor in the same fashion. Such exchanges are invariably temporary and in no way affect the permanence of the marital tie. Though no blame attaches to the participants, the arrangement is made as inconspicuously as possible, so that its frequency cannot be definitely determined. It is probably rather rare, for it implies reciprocity and the refusal of one of the wives suffices to frustrate the project.

The institution certainly has nothing to do with either "promiscuity" or prostitution in our sense. The wives concerned do not receive the slightest gift, nor is wife exchange the main object of the kwų'nõ' tie, for in former times the pepyé entering this relationship were still unmarried, as they still are with but a few exceptions.

838 I have never seen or heard of any homosexual aspect of this type of friendship. Characteristically our Canella have turned the usage into wife exchange rather than into homosexual excesses.

Kinship Terms

601 (*Note.* The prefixes id- and i- are first person singular possessives; the suffix -re is diminutive; -ti, augmentative; i-, feminine; -tum denotes old age, -ndúwu, youth; -ye remains problematical, but occurs with nouns denoting social groups. There are no distinctive vocative forms.)

BLOOD RELATIVES

Ascending Generations

601

i-nũ	my father, father's brother, father's sister's son, (mother's sister's husband)
i-nẽ'	my mother, mother's sister
kẽ'ts-ti	mother's brother, mother's father, mother's sister's son older than ego (last meaning probable, not certain)
kẽ'de-re	father's father
tyʼi-re	father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's mother, mother's mother, (father's brother's wife), mother's sister's daughter

Ego's Generation

i-hą	my older sibling, older child of father's brother
i-tõ	my older sibling (it is not clear how far this is synonymous with preceding term)
nyo'hẽ'a-re	younger sibling, younger child of father's brother

(For father's sister and mother's sister's children, see under Ascending Generations; for mother's brother's children under Descending Generations.)

Descending Generations

i-kra	my son, my daughter, sister's child (w. sp.), (my wife's sister's child), my mother's brother's child, my brother's child (m. sp.)
i-tąm-čwų'	my sister's son (m. sp.), my daughter's son (m. sp., w. sp.), my mother's sister's son younger than myself, my brother's son (w. sp.), my son's son (m. sp., w. sp.), my mother's brother's son (w. sp.)
i-tąm-čwų'i	my sister's daughter (m. sp.), my daughter's daughter (m. sp., w. sp.), my mother's sister's daughter younger than myself, my brother's daughter (w. sp.), my son's daughter (m. sp., w. sp.)
i-yapá-lɛ	synonym of i-tąm-čwų'i (apparently for all meanings)
i-yapal-čwų'i	my brother's daughter (w. sp.) (only meaning recorded)

AFFINITIES

i-piyẽ'	my husband
i-prõ	my wife
pąi-hẽ't	wife's father
i-mpąyẽ'	my wife's brother, wife's sister, wife's brother's child
krą'tam-yẽ	husband's father
i-wawų	my son-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.), my sister's husband (m. sp., w. sp.)
i-piyõyẽ'	my father's sister's husband, my son-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.), my sister's husband (m. sp., w. sp.) (evidently largely synonymous with foregoing)
i-čwų'i-yẽ	my son's wife (w. sp.), my brother's wife (w. sp.)
hą-čwų'i-yẽ	my son's wife (m. sp.), my wife's mother
tektʃ'i-yẽ	husband's sister

As pointed out in a preliminary report (Nimuendajú and Lowie, 1937, 575 f.), the classification of the paternal uncle with the father, of the brother's children with one's children (m. sp.), and other features correspond to the "bifurcate merging" or "classificatory" type of nomenclature. Especially noteworthy is the overriding of the generation factor in classing the father's sister's daughter with the paternal aunt—a peculiarity shared with the Crow type in North America.

The Life Cycle

PREGNANCY

843 As soon as a woman becomes aware of pregnancy she and her husband are subject to a definite diet and mode of behavior. Neither must gnaw leg bones lest the infant suffer a major umbilical rupture; and the woman must abstain from pure tiúba honey, which she may consume only with an admixture of manioc flour lest there be a miscarriage or, as the Indians put it, lest "the child [fetus] dissolve in blood."

843 As pregnancy progresses, the rules multiply: both parents are prohibited from eating the flesh of parrots, wild doves, sariemas, and armadilloes; and they must not kill a snake if they encounter one. The father must not singe a young paca at the fire lest there be a miscarriage, and he must not have sexual relations with either his wife or other women.

847 Deliberate abortion seems very rare; during the whole of my stay no case came to my notice. However, I was told that occasionally women deserted by their husbands used abortives—the decoction of the scraped bark of the pau candeia tree [137] (*Cassia* sp.) or the malodorous shoot of an undetermined species. On the other hand, unintentional abortion often results, as I was able to note in several cases, exclusively from the pregnant woman's insistence on staggering home like others of her sex under an overloaded basket of cultivated fruits, a pleasure no Indian woman lightly renounces. Although the carrying basket is suspended from a forehead band (pl. 5, *b*), the load also rests heavily on the small of the back, with the consequences noted.

DELIVERY

844 As the period of delivery approaches, the husband partitions off the platform bed with mats, for normally parturition takes place in the dwelling. Further, he plaits a number of anajá-grass mats for bedding. No male must witness the delivery. Though the husband is allowed to remain in the partitioned space—as a rule he does not avail himself of this privilege—he must not look at his wife, for that would render the birth more difficult. An elderly matrilineal kinswoman assists, there being no special midwives.

845 In difficult cases the crushed seeds of cantaloupes (post-Columbian!) are rubbed into the small of the mother's back. Another means of relief is for the husband to walk outside round the house—a usage shared with the Apinayé and the Kaingang. A young husband is often deeply affected by the event. As a primipara, Pụtyapére had an exceedingly lengthy and painful delivery. Her husband, after having walked outside around the house several times, sat fidgeting on a racing log before the door. Beside him sat two of his as yet unmarried kwų'nõ in sheepish embarrassment. As I passed by, the expectant father hailed me and looked at me in so supplicating a fashion that I tried to soothe him as best I could.

844 The woman in attendance ligatures the navel string with a cotton cord and cuts it with an iron knife, whose aboriginal equivalent the Indians were unable to tell me about. On the cut they smear first urucú, then the juice of the araçá bark. The afterbirth, mekéti, is buried in a corner of the house. One must not throw away the anajá mats on which the delivery has taken place and which are changed as soon as soiled. The delivered woman's mother rolls them up and squeezes them into [782] the fork of a tree in the steppe beyond the house, at the same time praying to the sun for protection of the infant from harm: "kedti, napáre ipųm, hompú apúi kačun nãre!" The mats are left to be destroyed by the next steppe fire.

The pelvic bones are pressed together after birth by having the woman lie on her side on the platform bed, her husband seating himself on her hip.

THE NEWBORN INFANT

847 Having never seen a single case of manifest bodily defect among about three hundred Rąmkõ'kamekra, I at first suspected them of killing crippled infants at birth, but any such practice was expressly denied.

846 The woman who assists at birth cleanses the infant's mouth with her finger, washes it, and paints it with urucú; the mother is taken behind the house and

846 washed, but not painted. Now her husband joins her in the partitioned space, which neither parent leaves except for necessity until the navel string drops off. In less rigorous form the seclusion lasts for over a month after that—the Indians said, for two months altogether. However, in one case I determined the period by actual count as only forty-two days. Until the dropping of the navel cord the mother wears a burity cord reddened with urucú around her hips—possibly a reminiscence of the band worn by lying-in Apinayé women, who thereby try to avert the enervation of the abdominal wall.

846 852 The navel string that has dropped off is wrapped with cotton thread and stored by the mother in the gourd (p. 52; also pl. 14, *m*) containing urucú seeds for body paint. At about the age of four the child receives this package from his mother and deposits his navel cord in the hole of some sucupira tree on the steppe: thereby he will grow as tough as the sucupira itself.

846 Like all other persons in seclusion, the parents must not paint or decorate themselves, neither cut their hair nor scratch themselves with their fingers, substituting for the last purpose special little sticks. During the entire period they are limited to vegetable fare, maize—today rice also—being considered most fitting, as well as manioc flat cakes for the mother. Other forms of manioc are forbidden, as are gourds. In eating sweet potatoes the couple must not throw away the skins, but collect them in a basket and carry them behind the house. The father must not execute any hard work or otherwise exert himself in any fashion.

848 846 If a woman, whether single or ceremonially wedded, has had extramarital sex relations with one or more men during pregnancy, she ruthlessly names them all immediately after her delivery, when her husband retires with her behind the mat enclosure. This confession is in the child's interest, for these men must all go into retreat; no Indian, whether a bachelor or married man, would ever dare deny his copaternity, as it were, and shirk seclusion, which customarily takes place in his mother's home. When a wanton named Muruwá gave birth to her first child, four men were obliged to go into retirement, though judging from the comments passed this seemed "a bit thick" even to the natives. Otherwise no one is ashamed of copaternity, and several times when the parents of a person were under discussion some Indian would thrust himself forward unbidden, declaring, "I too, am his father!" As explained (p. 78), the relationships resulting from copaternity are assessed precisely like those due to legitimate paternity in our sense.

END OF SECLUSION

851 551 In the case of a girl baby, whose name would be derived from a patrilineal kinswoman, a patrilineal relative goes deer hunting; for a boy baby, who gets his name in the matrilineal line, a matrilineal kinsman must assume this duty.

851 846 When Patkwę́'i gave birth for the first time, she had mentioned a man besides her husband as having to go into seclusion. When this period was over, her maternal uncle asked her husband to secure the game required. He killed a steppe deer, which was prepared in Patkwę́'i's maternal home so as to furnish three meat pies. In the afternoon the rópkama, his age class, assembled at their plaza station while Patkwę́'i was being washed behind her home, had her hair cut, and was decorated with urucú. Thus she went directly across the plaza to the house of her lover and with the words "Apukwųr ne!" invited him to fetch his share. He straightway betook himself to her matrilineal dwelling, where he received a slice of meat pie, which he took to his mother. In the meantime Patkwę́'i went from door to door round the boulevard—a formal presentation undertaken after any serious illness. There-

851 846 upon the age class trotted toward Patkwę'i's house, humming "like hummingbirds," and there a whole meat pie was distributed among them. Meanwhile Patkwę'i's husband had also abandoned the partitioned space of seclusion, put on his earplugs once more, and had himself painted with urucú. When the rópkama still humming as before, ran back, one of the oldest Indians came to meet them dancing, howling like a steppe fox, and bashfully slinking from one side to another. As a steppe fox always visits an abandoned camp site in search of food remnants, so the old man was looking for the residue at Patkwę'i's house.

A ceremony of such complexity, however, takes place only when the first child is born. On the same day another woman, who had already given birth to a number of children, was discharged from her retreat. All she did was to send a meat pie via her brother to the council assembled in the plaza.

851 [551] 846 When Kapẽrtųk's wife had been delivered of a little girl, his sister, Mĩkwę'i, took her in her arms and carried her to the aunt's matrilineal home, thereby indicating that she would transfer her names to the infant. Then Kapẽrtųk's and Mĩkwę'i's maternal uncle went to hunt a deer, which he turned over to his niece. The meat she prepared was partaken of by all the inmates of the matrilineal home of Kapẽrtųk's wife, except herself and her husband. Unprepared slices of this game must not be distributed in other dwellings lest the hunter lose his luck, growing lazy and sleepy (čukaká). For the same reason he must not throw his booty on the floor when he gets home, but must deposit it with caution.

[825] After his seclusion an infant's father goes on a hunting trip in order to kill an anteater of the smaller species (*Myrmecophaga tetradactyla*), which is said to "rear its children like a human being" by carrying them around on its back.

852 As soon as the child has its change of hair, the furrow is cut round its head.

604 Not until the close of seclusion does the mother indulge in domestic chores, and even then only in part because during the first months she hardly lets go of her infant. In leaving the house she turns it over to her own mother or another female housemate. A little girl is likely to spend considerable time at a paternal aunt's—even if she should not be the one from whom she acquires her names. This bond between little girls and their paternal aunts often is of great intimacy, being even more striking than the corresponding tie between a boy and his maternal uncle, which manifests itself later and especially in ceremonial. This uncle certainly pays no attention to a nursling's care.

853 856 So long as the mother maintains continence, the child is supposed to grow apace. For this reason many women abstain from marital congress for months, allowing the hair around their temples to grow, but immediately clipping it after the first postnatal cohabitation. This obligatory continence is by no means to every husband's taste, and a fantastic tale of suicide—relegated, it is true, to the days of long ago—is told. [762] On the plea that their child was still too small a woman denied her husband access for many months. He had himself, as well as the nephew to whom he had transferred his names, decorated and took the boy into the steppe. There he pretended to hunt falcons, kindled a fire around himself and the boy, causing both to perish.

INFANCY

853 The nursing period lasts about two years. The mother gives suck as often as the child desires it, kinswomen being glad to help so far as they are able. The mother teaches her child to eat cooked food by chewing it and then placing it in the infant's mouth.

854 As soon as the child is able to sit, the mother carries it straddling her left hip

854 while holding it with her left arm (pl. 22, *a*). Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra I have never seen carrying bands used, yet they probably were formerly in vogue, for Ribeiro expressly states: "Carregam ellas os sues filhos menores ás costas, pendurados en tipoias ou tiras largas feitas de palha de buritý."[169] That is, they followed
[171] the present custom of the Šerénte and Kayapó instead of the Apinayé custom of wearing girdles.[170] Pohl describes the carrying bands of the Põrekamekra: "In order to carry their children, who are nursed until their fifth year, in comfort, the women use shoulder-bands two inches in width [i.e., strikingly narrow!], which are plaited of palm leaves, and on the chest as well as the back there are suspended some twenty cords with the above-mentioned bead-like seeds [*Scleria flagellum*]. Into this band the child is set so that its feet clasp the mother's body." The same carrying band he notes among the Krahõ': "I obtained one of the above-mentioned children's carrying-bands, such as I found here too in use by all the women."[171]

854 286 I, too, have seen carrying bands among the Krīkatí and Pųkóbye, but they were plaited of cotton, not palm grass, and were in part provided with ornaments in relief. The Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra also have such cotton sashes (pl. 11, *a*, *b*), but today at least they serve only as ceremonial decoration of the precentresses. Here the plaitwork is always plain, with huge cotton tassels depending from the cords of *Scleria* beads. The mode of manufacture varies. Either the band is manufactured in the plaiting frame with only a number of little sticks inserted between the warp strands; or the maker slings a cipó hoop round her knees (pl. 6, *a-c*). Concerning a similar specimen seen among the Kre'pų'mkateye I do not know whether it served as a carrying band or as a ceremonial decoration. The Krīkatí, Pųkóbye, and Kre'pų'mkateye substitute deer hoofs for the *Scleria* cords.

From the Suyá, Von den Steinen obtained a quite similar children's carrying girdle of cotton, about 7 cm. wide and plaited all over with lozenge designs, but it had only two loosely encircling corded rings instead of the pendants.

The Krīkatí and the Pųkóbye also have some wide cotton carrying slings in two-strand twining technique (Doppelfadengeflecht), which, like the cotton hammocks of the same make, are all traded in from the neighboring Guajajára.

854 Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra it is exclusively the mother's business—or occasionally that of kinswomen relieving her—to tend the infants. A man will indeed play with his child and lay it beside him on his platform bed in the daytime, but if it gets soiled he almost always calls the mother to do the cleaning.

All the women and girls I knew were without exception glad to devote themselves to children. As soon as a little one begins to stand erect, the women attempt to teach it rhythmic dance movements to accompany their singing, and it is very droll to see the infants commence dancing after a fashion as soon as their mothers stand them upright and strike up a tune.

NAMES

551 The principle of name transmission and its connection with social units have already been described (p. 77 ff.).

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[169] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 12.

[170] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 105, 106.

[171] Pohl, Reise, 2:193, 215. "Um ihre Kinder, welche bis zum fünften Jahr gesäugt werden, bequem tragen zu können bedienen sich die Weiber zu diesem Zweck bestimmter Achselbänder. Selbe sind zwei Zoll breit, aus Palmblättern geflochten und an der Brustseite wie auf dem Rücken hängen bei 20 Schnüre mit den obenerwähnten perlenartigen Samenkörnern. In diese Binde wird das Kind gesetzt, so zwar, daß dessen Füße den Leib der Mutter umschlingen. . . . Auch eines der obenerwähnten Kindertragbänder, welche ich hier ebenfalls bey allen Weibern sah, brachte ich an mich. . ."

851 A child usually does not get its first name until several months after birth; I have seen children about a year old who were still nameless.

551 The significance of the names varies considerably and has nothing to do with the bearer's individuality since they are inherited. Except for Ka'tą'm, which may be applied to either sex, the masculine and the feminine names are distinct. Many girls' names terminate in the feminine suffix -kwę'i. The following may serve as samples:

Masculine	Feminine
Kačĕkum, Star haze	Kačĕkwę'i, Star girl
Cŏpką, Bat skin	Pųtkwĕ'i, Sun girl
Ropką, Jaguar skin	Pųrăkwĕ'i, Girl of the urucú blossom
Kapĕrtųk, Black bacaba	Kŏreda, Spilled water
Čątú, Fox belly	Tęprã, Small fish (species)
Tepyet, Hanging fish	Pačédn, Pretty arm
Kukrăčą', Bees' nest	Kukrãyet, Hanging bees
Pądnhi, Arara bone	Te'hŏk, Painted lower leg
Kenkum, Mountain fog	Kentapí, Road up a mountain
Kentetet, White mountain	Mĭkwę'i, Crocodile girl
Čąrčą, Place for broiling	Kabĕ'rkwę'i, Ground-nut girl
Hąktokót, Falcon (species)	Krãpey, Beautiful head

The first syllable serves as a pet name, for example, Kŏ for Kŏkaipó; Ken for Kentapí; Pądn for Pądnhi.

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623 The name transfer always takes place in the plaza before sunrise, at the close of the morning dance. The ceremony does not arouse much excitement, but at this hour there are always many people present, especially the councilors. The donor stands on one side, his hąpín on the other, the recipient (or, if he is a small child, his mother or aunt carrying him) in the middle. A councilor or chief steps in front of this group, turning his back to them and leaning on his club; then, while rocking from one foot to the other he calls out the name.

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597 I acquired the name Kŏkaipó as follows: The chief Major Delphino Kŏkaipó had died while traveling a number of years ago before he had been able to transfer his name, so that it became extinct. This was generally regretted, especially because of the last bearer's popularity. Some time after my arrival, the councilors decided to adopt me into the community as the first non-Indian and availed themselves of this exceptional case to revive the name.

Immediately after the morning dance, chief Kukrăčą' summoned the entire village to the plaza, where the council first held a short conference concerning the affair. Then Kukrăčą', the deceased Kŏkaipó's junior brother, took up a position on my right, and Čątú, the dead man's special hąpín, on my left. Chief Hąktokót stood in front of us and all faced west, that is, in the direction of the village half belonging to the complementary exogamous moiety. Leaning on his long burity staff Hąktokót delivered a loud and passionate address, which at that time I was unable to follow, and announced the name. The audience responded with loud shouting and a blast of trumpets.

After the ceremony my deceased namesake's three sisters came up to tell me how glad they were over the revival of the name and my now being their brother. One of them introduced her little son, who at once merrily addressed me as "kedti" (maternal uncle) and to whom I was expected at some future time to convey the name, as I actually did some years later.

552 Strangely enough certain objects of importance also receive personal names, for example, ceremonial lances (krowačwa). When in 1935 I presented the tribe with

552 a new copper roasting pan in place of one that was no longer usable, they regarded it as my daughter, so to speak, and accordingly my sister, Kra'napę'n, transferred her name to it.

551 Nicknames, except for those bestowed by Neobrazilians and then sometimes used by the natives themselves, are rare and borne mostly by young lads and girls. Thus, one youth was called Pičanre, from Portuguese *pizano* (used to call tomcats) plus the diminutive ending; and the fat little wanton Muruwá was dubbed Toki, from Portuguese *toquinho*, a small tree stump.

[177] All adult Rąmkô'kamekra have been baptized by Catholic priests, some possibly more than once. They use exclusively these baptismal names in their intercourse with Neobrazilians, but very rarely among themselves—the women never, a considerable number of them having forgotten their Christian names.

No Timbira manifests any reluctance about uttering his name. Refusal to answer Neobrazilian queries on this point is due simply to the feeling that it is none of the interrogator's business or that he could not pronounce the name anyway.

ORPHANS; TREATMENT OF CHILDREN

736 855 If the mother dies, her child remains with her kinswomen, with whom it has been living since birth, though in contravention of the matrilocal principle a girl is occasionally brought up by her father's sister. The father's death does not materially affect the child's social status either, for the orphans' relatives treat them with as much amiability and benevolence as if they were their own offspring. Thanks to their matrilocal institutions the Rąmkô'kamekra have no "poor, unfortunate orphans": a stepfather has no power to abuse them in a house that is not his, but theirs; and an "evil stepmother" simply has no close contacts with them.

All the Timbira treat their children with great patience and gentleness, never yelling at them, nor, so far as I have observed, ever beating them. Stubborn little children or those who bawl from sheer caprice—a thing of rare occurrence—are simply ignored by their parents and very soon stop.

PLAY

524 532 Little girls have relatively many toys. Their dolls are approximately cylindrical pieces of burity leafstalk, rarely of wood; they are of the length of a finger or span. They lack heads, face, and limbs, though female dolls are provided with wax breasts, a corded girdle, and sometimes corded sashes. The male dolls generally lack all decoration, being only rarely equipped with a forehead band and grass girdle. Both sexes are painted black and red or have falcon down glued on them. (See pl. 23, *i–k*.)

415 524 Practically all the domestic utensils of adults may serve as patterns for toys; one sees tiny gourd bowls and bottles, fire fans, baskets of all sorts, provender pouches, little sleeping mats and hammocks, manioc presses and strainers, carrying baskets, etc. Coiled basketry, which these Indians had completely abandoned as too complicated for practical use, was found exclusively as the technique for toy baskets at the time of my first visit. At my suggestion it was revived for utensils. [123] (See pls. 23, *h*, *l*, *m*; 24, *d–f*, *h*, *k*, *l*.)

857 In the bushes back of the dwellings little girls assemble in twos or threes to set up a dolls' household sheltered by little huts made of twigs and mats. Then they beg their mothers to glue falcon down on a doll couple so as to be able to get them married by laying the dolls together on a miniature sleeping mat.

Toys are the property of the child; to obtain them I had to get the child's consent.

361 When about four to eight years old the girls wear as festive decoration wood
bracelets, which are sometimes prettily carved.

Boys segregate themselves from girls at an early age. Their first and princip
868 toy is a small bow, which differs from the adults' weapon in having a round cr
411 section (pl. 24, *a*). The first arrows are little rods made from the ribs of pa
leaflets (pl. 24, *b*). As the lads grow older, bows and arrows gradually approa
the ultimate form, the stave grows flatter, the arrows are feathered and point

524 Among playthings there are toy guns for shooting maize kernels by means
an elastic strip of bamboo (pl. 23, *g*). Obviously borrowed from Neobrazilians, th
share the name of firearms, katôkre (tôk, the report of a gun). Further, the b
have buzzers (pl. 24, *n*), humming tops with a string pulled through the hole
a little board (pl. 24, *i*), small palm-nut tops, miniature imitations of dance mas
animal figurines of wax (pl. 23, *a–f*), and grass figures like those of the Apinayé

Trick carvings (pl. 24, *o*), games of patience (pl. 24, *m*), and cat's cradle ser
for the amusement of bigger boys and girls.

THE BOYS' CLASS

561 At about six years of age the boys begin to have a sense of age-class solidarity,
869 fact that strongly affects their relations with their families. No one urges them
form such a company, which is joined quite spontaneously, by some of them earlie
857 by others later. This is a natural consequence of an environment surcharged wi
a socioceremonial spirit. As their model they take the youngest of the four offici
age classes, and whenever this group plays its part in a major ceremonial th
has an obviously stimulating effect on the minors.

I first observed this in 1930 at the second ketúaye of the subsequent põhjtíkam
class. About fifteen boys (from among twice that number), mostly six to eig
years old united as an unofficial class. *On their own request* the council appoint
an instructor, mekapónkate, for them; and he taught them to plait, shoot, sing a
dance, explained the ceremonial, and enjoined upon them to be honest and co
radely. They went jointly to bathe and hunt, arranged races and log races—i
short, prepared in every respect for their future status as a recognized class. T
elders even gave them a class name—Pędntųktíkama (pędntųkti, black ara).
Three years later the põhjtíkama completed their cycle of initiation and precip
tated a shift of age classes in the plaza; and the minors were then admitted as t
junior eastern class, mepantúa, to the northeast station there, acquiring the na
Kra'tîkama. As already stated, they began racing against the western mepantú
a group on the average ten years older. In the following year, when subjected t
their first ketúaye, they had their organization completed.

561 On my return in 1935 I found a new boys' class in process of formation. In 1
861 I saw them nicely imitating the adults' erection of a hadre mast at the opening
532 the vų'tę' period. A group of hunters comprising members of both age-class m
527 ties had prepared a mast 6 m. high outside the village. Having wound foliage rou
it and tied on the sliced game, they carried it into the village at a trot. Ahead
them a man came dashing and uttering piercing yells; in the center of the pla
he dug a hole for the post. At once the women came rushing up from all directi
The hunters planted the pole in the pit and held it erect, but pretended to let
drop now in one direction, now in the other, which naturally made the women ru
thither. At last the men laid down the mast, and the women stripped it pell-me
while one of the Clowns at the last moment tried to drag it away. Hardly was th

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 108 f.

561 scene over before several other Clowns came running with a small, gnarled tree
527 from which intestines, pieces of wood, but also some slices of good meat were suspended, of which the women likewise took possession.

536 On the following day the boys went hunting and killed a number of small birds and steppe rats. They tied their spoils to a tree, dragged it to the plaza, and set it upright, while the little girls came running from all sides to pillage it. Other boys had tied their game to the tip of their long tuft of hair and ran across the plaza, chased by the girls, who finally despoiled them of the booty.

GROWING GIRLS

867 At the age of boys beginning to organize, the girls already assist their mothers at
868 home and in the plantations and mostly excel them as dancers and singers in the
[581] plaza. Public opinion exacts competence in both spheres. A girl unfit for domestic and farming labor will not readily find a husband; but the collaboration of girls in the chanting and dancing that is indispensable for every festival and ceremonial is considered equally important. No Timbira mother would restrain her daughter from attending a dance on the ground of work to be done at home or in the plots.
626 If there are too few girls in the plaza for a dance, the truants are publicly reproved
561 by the elders, who may send specially delegated men to fetch them out of their maternal homes. One of these messengers advances the tip of his sword-club toward the girl, who is obliged to clasp it, and he then leads her by the club to the plaza. Such treatment may be accorded to girls no older than ten, and at about twelve both sexes are in the thick of the manifold socioceremonial life of age classes, festive societies, and other units.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF THE SEXES

562 Before discussing the relations of the sexes during and prior to wedlock, I wish
184 to state explicitly what is sufficiently apparent from the description of social structure: Neither sex considers the other inferior; the sexes have distinct functions,
622 not higher and lower ones. Of course there are no feminine chiefs or councilors, and the religious ceremonies on behalf of the commonweal are always performed by men. Further, there is no preponderantly feminine organization. On the other hand, women not only own dwellings and plantations, but also have a claim on the children, and except in warfare nothing is undertaken without feminine participation, whence the vų'tų' institution (p. 92), the girl associates in the festive societies and the boys' initiation (p. 96 f.), and the resulting membership of women in the hąmrén (p. 97 f.). There is but a single wholly masculine organization, that of the King Vultures; and this is due to their comprising all the honorary chiefs, which automatically excludes women since female chiefs are unknown. The two types of formalized friendship likewise embrace both sexes, even though the circumstances in which the kwų'nõ bond is established restrict the number of females capable of entering it (p. 104).

578 In contrast to tribes with masculine societies for terrorizing women or with other
562 methods of frightening them,[illegible] the Rąmkɔ́'kamekra seem to be above all interested in a merry comradeship of the two sexes. This attitude rests on the manifest appre-
183 ciation of feminine personality. If a girl or woman differs in opinion from a man and agreement is hopeless, the matter is allowed to rest; it would be regarded as mean and ridiculous for a man to get angry, let alone try coercion. All relations
000 rest on free consent within the tribal code. Accordingly rape was unknown, the

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[illegible] Nimuendajú and Lowie, The Associations of the Šerénte, 415.

Accordingly rape was unknown, the
834 only contrary instance being that of an Indian who had been intoxicated to senselessness in a Neobrasilian house; on the way home he ravished his twelve-year old daughter, but on coming to he had not the slightest recollection of his deed. [133]

DAILY DANCES

883 535 The relations of the young people of opposite sex are best illustrated by their joint dances in the plaza, which normally take place three times every day during the ceremonial season. The party includes as participants:

554 535 534 1. The precentor, ikrérekaté. Of this category the Canella have two or three good representatives and a number of mediocre ones. The younger ones who show talent are instructed by the older precentors, at whose side they appear. A worthy precentor requires a good voice, a good memory for the innumerable dance songs, and bodily endurance. His instrument is the dance rattle, ko'hi, made of the rind, usually painted red, of a *Crescentia cujete*, mounted on a wooden handle that projects above as an elongated tip, by which the rattle can be planted in the ground (pl. 22, *b*, *c*). At the grip end a rectangular hole in the handle permits the insertion of a plaited wrist loop, which has a long tassel. The precentor is by no means a medicine-man nor has his rattle the slightest religious significance, as Abreu erroneously assumes.[illegible] [137]

534 171 A remarkable description of the rattle wielded by a Põrekamekra precentor is given by Pohl: "This [precentor] carried in his right hand a ¾-yard-long staff along which a blackened coconut shell could be pushed up and down by the movement of the body. Within the shell were maize kernels, which produced a loud noise." I have never seen such an instrument, which recalls the "taran" observed by Snethlage among the Moré of the upper Madeira region. But Pohl does not seem to have closely viewed the object he describes, for it could hardly have been a "coconut shell" and the "maize kernels" were presumably the black pamtij seeds which both the Eastern and Western Timbira exclusively use and specially cultivate for this purpose. [834]

292 114 535 The precentor generally wears a forehead band, a neck band with a tassel for the back of the neck, sashes across the chest, sometimes cotton bracelets—never a loincloth such as Jurandyr Paes Leme paints in representing a Ponto dance.[illegible]

2. The precentress, mehókrepúi, has already been referred to (p. 97).

883 3. The girls from about their seventh year until at least their first pregnancy. Many a woman eagerly participates even subsequently so far as the care of her infant permits. On the other hand, women of the critical age or grandmothers never take part. [847]

4. The males comprise at least the older members of the unofficial boys' class and the two junior official classes, mepantía.

If the youths are otherwise engaged, the girls will dance by themselves, but this is certainly not the normal thing, contrary to what might be inferred from Snethlage's and Abreu's reports, both of which mention only the dancing girls and the precentor, saying nothing about the participation of young men. Indeed, Snethlage goes so far as to speak of a "women's dance."[illegible] [114]

[illegible] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 130, 132.

[illegible] Fróes Abreu, op. cit., 132. Pohl, Reise, 2:201. "Dieser trug in der Rechten einen drey viertel Ellen langen Stab, an welchem eine schwarz gefärbte Kokosschale durch die Bewegung des Körpers auf und niedergeschoben werden konnte. In der Schale waren Maiskörner, welche ein lautes Geräusche verursachten."

[illegible] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 130.

535 883 The signal for the commencement of the dance usually emanates from the precentor, who goes to the plaza with his rattle, which he begins to shake there while singing in an undertone. Upon this signal the girls take up their position in a row and join in the chant, at first likewise in a low tone. Not until the second or third song is intoned do the youths rise from the sites of their age classes and face the girls.

533 The singing is confined to the girls and the precentor. Except for their periodic shouting in chorus the boys and young men dance in silence. So far as I am able to interpret them, the brief texts of the songs, which are repeated four or more times, refer without exception to animals and their mode of life, especially their food. The melodies are simple, but because of the frequency of half tones and deviations from our rhythmic patterns I found it most difficult to grasp and retain them—to the Indians' great and constant regret, the girls often enough vainly laboring with me. Not only the precentor but the girls, too, chant in strangely deep, guttural tones in two or three voices, individuals varying from thirds to fourths according to preference. The effect is ample, serious, solemn, in fast time growing impressively passionate; Neobrazilians disparagingly compare the Timbira chanting to the roar of wild beasts.

535 Women and girls stand in a row without moving from position; there seems to be no fixed cardinal direction for them to face. During the song they merely bend the knee rhythmically (ikontoitši) while their arms, bent at right angles with the palms up, are moved back and forth so that the hands nearly touch (ipatapé). I have attended several hundred dances, but never observed the alternate stamping with their feet described by Abreu, nor the limb contortions and circular movements of the abdominal muscles reported by Snethlage.[illegible] Pohl also failed to note anything of the sort among the Pũrekamekra:

> Their movements consisted only in their more or less curving in of the feet according to the time of the howling: the knees were bent forward, then the right foot was advanced and retracted in unison without abandonment of the dancers' position. At the same time their hands were bent in uniform fashion and these, too, like the feet, were advanced and retracted by all girls at the same time and rhythmically.
>
> (Ihre Bewegungen bestanden bloss darin, daß sie die Füße nach dem Takt des Geheules mehr oder minder einkrümmten, so die Kniee vorwärts beugten und dann den rechten Fuß gleichzeitig vorsetzten und zurückzogen, alles ohne ihre Stelle zu verlassen. Zu gleicher Zeit hielten sie die Hände gleichförmig gebogen, und auch diese wurden, wie die Füße, im Einklang mit denselben vorgestreckt oder zurückgezogen, welches von allen Mädchen zugleich und taktmäßig geschieht.)

The precentress has her position in the middle of the girls' row. Whenever, as now and then happens, the precentor pauses for a few seconds, it devolves on the precentress to keep up the chant, which must not be interrupted under any circumstances.

The precentor's behavior is not easily defined in words. Approximately it conforms to the following scheme. He dances, usually from left to right, directly in front of the women's line, then returns in a wide arc to the left. But especially when the dancers have attained the proper state of excitement, which among all the Timbira takes a rather long time, this simple scheme almost disappears amid a host of variants. Then the precentor will vigorously chant and rattle at each girl singly, stamp his feet, stoop down before her, leap up with outstretched legs without change of station. A spectator gets the impression that the performer is making superhuman efforts to impart his own enthusiasm to the girl. While thus engaged he holds his instrument very nearly at the level of his girdle and to one side of his

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[illegible] Prâes Abreu, 180. Snethlage, Meine Reise, 460; idem., Nordostbras. Ind., 130.

535 body. Sometimes he skips two or three dancers in the row, then turns back a little toward the left, suddenly turning away from the line in order to dash off in long dancing jumps, nimbly and gracefully forming a semicircle, or it may be even a circle, around the girls. Some performers deliberately kick up the sand with the tips of the feet during this maneuver. The precentor's work is very arduous; he drips with perspiration and, notwithstanding minor intermissions, he is usually quite exhausted at the end of the dance. Sometimes his colleague must take over the last part of the dance. In Ponto there were times when more than fifty girls and women were dancing in a row; then one precentor will not suffice, so two appear simultaneously, one dancing before the right wing, the other before the left, their songs and movements coinciding perfectly.

293 As noted by Pohl[illegible] and myself, the youths start their activity not at the first
song, but as a rule only at the second or third. Almost always they hold some
534 weapon while dancing—a club or arrow or, it may be, nothing more than a stick.
Some make special staves for the purpose, tipping them with some sort of tassel.
The dancer grasps the club by the butt, not by the handle. Almost always one or
two of the dancers brings along a trumpet, which is either held in the hand or
suspended on the back by a neck cord. It consists of (a) a bamboo tube blown by
[531] a lateral hole and often decorated with pretty twilling in two colors; and (b) a
long gourd resonator set at an obtuse angle (padavą', *Logenaria* sp.). (See pl.
27, *a*.) Sometimes a cow horn cemented to the tube serves as a funnel-shaped resonator, in which case the instrument is called hö'hĭ. (See pl. 27, *b*.) It is blown in short, rapid blasts, especially before the dance and during intermissions, the fundamental and then the overtone becoming audible.

535 The youths, with legs outstretched, gently swing their knees, leaping and dancing in a body toward the girls as long as the precentor dances in front of the female line. But as soon as he turns away to execute his semicircle, the youths likewise retreat up to some thirty meters, leaping and yelling. In the dances held at daybreak they always utter a prolonged shout in chorus when starting a new stanza.

512 The first dance takes place between 3 and 4 A.M. The unmarried mepantúa and
535 the wantons who sleep with them in the plaza are naturally not slow about taking
their places, while the girls and young women who sleep in their mothers' homes
623 and the women's husbands lag behind. The council had charged my hąpín, Čątí,
with the duty of tending to the requisite quorum of participants. Accordingly, as soon as the dance had begun he would go from house to house around the boulevard, rousing the truants and sending them to the plaza. He was particularly eager to have me accompany him on this circuit, hence woke me up before the rest, quite contrary at times to my convenience.

Toward 5 A.M. the chanting always grows extraordinarily wild and passionate. Anyone wishing to get a clear picture of Timbira dances ought to watch them at that time of day. Half an hour later the singing abruptly ceases. The precentor plants his rattle in the ground by its tip, turns about, and goes home, whereupon the dancers of both sexes withdraw and hurry off to bathe in the creek. Their place is then jointly taken by the chiefs and elders, who for the most part have already made their appearance to attend the close of the performance.

The second dance is held a little before sunset, whence its name, pųtkammekre, and consists of only five songs. The number of participants is less than at the other dances. At this time the councilors are assembled for the second deliberation of the day. Certain minor ceremonies are customary on this occasion, such as the tasting of cultivated fruits, the presentation of persons discharged from seclusion, etc.

[illegible] Pohl, Reise, 2:206.

512 535 623 836 The third dance usually commences after 7 P.M. subsequent to the councilors' meeting. It always has the largest attendance, which includes spectators, especially mothers, grandmothers, and aunts who come to watch their girls dance and later escort them home. As a rule the dance lasts until 9 P.M., but sometimes much later. From time to time Čątú, or sometimes one of the councilors, inspires the performers to greater efforts by admonitions, praise, and protracted shouting. At the close of the performance the married folk and the virgins go home, but the unmarried mepantúa and several wantons usually remain in the plaza at the station peculiar to them. A youth who has a mistress crawls under a mat with her that renders the couple invisible. Some one individual may sing on for himself for a while, then there is complete silence in the village until at 3 A.M. the precentor's rattle once more sounds his summons.

535 171 This mode of dancing seems common to all Timbira. I have seen it not only among the Rąmkô'kamekra, but also among the Krīkatí, Pųkóbye, Kre'pų'mkateye, Krahô', and Apą'nyekra, and the Apinayé manner of dancing is extraordinarily similar.

535 In addition, however, there are a number of dances for amusement into which the nocturnal dance for the most part merges, and of these I will describe the knee (mekonkrą̄ne mekrére) and the arrow dance.

The former I observed in 1933 about the time of the terminal ceremony of the pepyé, but it was not related to that initiation and might just as well have been performed at any other time. At 4 A.M. I was awakened by Čątú, who with another man was getting the girls together. Finally eighteen of them in the company of a precentor were squatting on their heels in a circle round a fire in the plaza. Singing with regularity, the precentor on his knees slid in a circle around the girls, at last vigorously shaking his rattle at one of them. Thereupon she also glided about on her knees, moved outside the circle, then backward in a circle in front of the precentor, moving her arms as in a dance, until she had returned to her position. This was repeated by each girl. Once the precentor glided to the right and the girl toward the left in a circle. In the meantime eight men marched in a slow dance
[535] step clockwise round the seated group and sang the "ilire" song, which refers to popere, the electric eel (*Gymnotus* sp.).

The arrow dance, a very jolly affair, was performed one evening almost at dusk. The participants were ten girls, a troop of youths, and a precentor. To one side, at the edge of the plaza, were camped the wakõkama in the station proper to their age class. The order of the dances was the customary one. One youth was holding a bow and arrow in his hand, of which the precentor relieved him during the dance, turning them over to a girl. She stepped out of the line, fitted the arrow to her bow while the dancers continued unperturbed, then with stretched bow chased away the quietly watching wakõkama. Next she turned to the dancing youths, pursued them, and at last discharged one of the arrows at a youth, who of course eluded it with agility. Thereupon she returned to her position, while the precentor turned the weapons over to another girl, etc. But when they had once more got into the youth's possession, he suddenly turned toward the girls, menacing them with the stretched bow so that they dispersed with cries of alarm. But presently they reunited, and the play went on. Sometimes the girls shot at the wakõkama without ever hitting anyone, and the young men responded to each shot with a loud "rrr!" Finally they suddenly leapt up and with uplifted clubs chased the girls in all directions. This ended the entertainment.

535 [832] 789 The dances hardly involve any erotic stimulation, but as a by-product some of

535 789 the nocturnal ones are said to promote hunting and farming. Before a hunting trip they sing of one game animal after another, recounting the species to be killed. This is really done to improve one's luck, for a hunting party that has met with failure will improvise such dances in camp in order to obtain better results at the last moment; for lack of girl dancers and singers their place is taken by men. I have not been able to discover any difference between such hunters' dances and those of daily life.

A grasshopper dance, with boys dancing in squatting posture, one behind the other, serves to promote the sweet potato crop.

ENGAGEMENT

584 The proposal emanates either from the prospective groom's kinswomen or the bride's, from the bride herself, or—probably most rarely of all—from the groom. Among the Ra̧mkö'kamekra, too, there are many mothers and aunts who indulge in the harmless pleasure of providing prospective husbands for their daughters and nieces—sometimes very prematurely. Such arrangements are not of course strictly binding, for no one can be coerced into wedlock. In some cases they may actually result in marriage, but for the most part the young people on coming of age do as they please, irrespective of the negotiations entered into by their kindred while the parties concerned were still in their infancy.

834 584 As children the fiancés pay no attention to each other. On attaining maturity a youth visits his betrothed in her platform bed, which she hurriedly elevates to a level directly below the roof, and shields from the sight of the other inmates by a partition of mats (p. 41). However, nobody casts prying eyes in their direction, for in this regard the Timbira display exemplary discretion and considerateness even if personally interested in the relationship of the young people.

833 584 With the noiseless agility typical of the Indians in such circumstances the lad glides into the house in the dark and up into the platform bed. If its creaking did not betray his presence, hardly any resident would notice it any more than his departure a few hours later for the plaza, where he spends the remainder of the night. Such meetings do not lead to defloration, which no lovers would hazard within a dwelling since it always takes place outside the village. Thus it happens that more than one girl who has received a suitor's visit for hours night after night over a prolonged space of time may break the engagement as a virgin. For this reason no one may claim the otherwise customary indemnity from the visitor, and the girl may enter a formal marriage with another man. Pohl already observed this bundling custom among the Põrekamekra and expressed surprise at the maintenance of virginity.[illegible] It is true that if a girl repeatedly enters and dissolves engagements, she ultimately loses her reputation, is no longer taken seriously by the marriageable young men, and becomes a wanton.

832 834 In so far as no special relationship contravenes, girls exhibit little reserve in contact with men well known to them; they expose themselves in their presence without a sense of shame and freely romp with them while bathing unless half the village should be watching. Anyone who wishes to remain on good terms must not balk at practical jokes, bites, pinching, and scratching as he plays with them. As a rule they grow tender and affectionate only when tired from such strenuous pleasantries. Pining lovers and gallant knights would probably make little impression on these girls, but appear stupid and ridiculous. This does not exclude such suitor's favors as relieving a girl of her load, but this is done as inconspicuously as possible. Indeed, both sexes dislike public demonstration of their feeling

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[illegible] Pohl, Reise, 2:195.

JEALOUSY

152 836 626 Among young men any expression of jealousy or resentment over a slight would be considered mean and ridiculous. On the other hand, girls take little pains to suppress corresponding sentiments. In a fit of jealousy Kentapí told her lover that she would wait till he was gone, then lure her rival, Muruwá, out into the steppe, club her to death, and lead him to inspect the skeletal remains on his return. Fortunately, as elsewhere, big talk and action do not always coincide in Ponto. As a matter of fact, the two girls could not carry their hostility to extremes because the omnipotent social structure is bound to unite them again and again in defiance of personal sentiments. Such a thing as having a woman declare that she would not attend the afternoon dance lest she meet her rival is wholly inconceivable for a Timbira. Accordingly, soon after these two were seen dancing and singing together in one line.

SEX IDEAL

832 836 784 [164] The Ramkó'kamekra ideal for both sexes involves a stature that is not too short; light skin color; long and ample hair; a well-nourished body; small eyes; and a nimble gait. Males are supposed, in addition, to wear large earplugs. A lazybones (čukaká) who plays truant at log races or hunting and obviously evades work will have no luck in getting a wanton, let alone a wife. There were two or three such čukaká in the tribe—one of them probably afflicted with hookworm acquired on some begging trip. The others declared that they had somehow transgressed the food taboos imposed on young people of both sexes relating to the flesh of the little anteater, armadillo, porcupine, paca, capybara, sucurijú and jacaré, and to ostrich eggs, electric eels, and rays—prohibitions removed only after marriage.

832 581 Good log racers arouse the girls' pleasure and admiration, as do good singers and dancers. Yet in the choice of a husband a competent hunter looms as more attractive, lack of skill in the chase being a decided obstacle. Pędukì had graduated from the initiation ceremonies, was twenty to twenty-two years old, had been long engaged to a girl, and according to the list he recited to me had killed many kinds of game; but he explained that this was far from adequate and that he would have to give many further proofs before marriage. However, there is no formal test; the general impression that a young man is able to supply a wife and family with meat suffices.

The only form of love magic observed is the secret removal of hair from the temples of the beloved person, whereby it is believed possible to assure a permanent union.

PREREQUISITES TO MARRIAGE

582 [831] 881 In former times no young man was permitted to marry before completing the cycle of initiation ceremonies, thereby attaining the status of a warrior, pëp. Premature sexual intercourse, it is said, impairs one's prowess as a log racer. As described (p. 200), the kukę'kaikę'ra ceremony of the last initiation phase involves the leading of engaged youths by their prospective mothers-in-law. However, the young warriors were by no means obliged to marry at once, being allowed to remain single as long as they pleased; since the difference within a class may amount to as much as ten years, some members had not yet attained the necessary age.

For girls it was essential to have obtained the corded girdle (me'pré) before marriage and to be virgins; and marriage with a virgin was considered indissoluble. This girdle was bestowed after at least one season's service as the associate of some men's organization. The two vę'tę' and the warrior girls who graduate from

582 881 initiation with the young men do not receive their girdle until the close of their term of office—in both cases of about five years' duration. In former days, furthermore, they did not erect the elevated platform bed prior to receipt of the girdle, hence had no previous visits of their lovers at night. This statement, I think, may be accepted as definitely established by the information given by the older Rąmkö'kamekra. It is the paternal kinswoman who transfers names to a girl that also gives her the girdle.

There are no marriage tests for the Timbira. The log races so often represented as such by earlier writers are in no way connected with matrimony. Agreeing with Abreu, I must emphasize this point because Snethlage expressly reports contradictory information. On the other hand, he rightly corrects Ignace's gross error in crediting the Canella with the ant trial.[illegible]

832 At present some mothers try to accelerate the development of breasts by dealing a daughter a few light taps against the nipples with their finger joints—usually in the morning on waking up. Girls also practice this custom among themselves. I once observed a ten-year-old girl who for this reason wore a broad grass strip tied tightly across the chest, with a little disk of charcoal over each nipple and under the grass strip.

881 833 582 836 Nowadays only a minority of girls attain puberty as virgins. *De facto* most of them are already married at twelve or have had extramarital relations. On the other hand, I do know a number of girls—the vq'tę' Repiya, for example—who are at least fourteen and still virgins. (See pl. 28, *b*, *c*.) Such chaste girls, who are invariably engaged, are educated for indissoluble wedlock and guarded by their elder kinswomen. As for the rest, one is never sure when their period of betrothal—assuming its existence—ends and when matrimony begins. In the orthodox view they would all be wantons with whom any bachelor might consort freely, breaking the relationship, at least in the absence of offspring, at the will of either party.

As for the youths, at present a considerable number are married before the completion of their initiation. The Rąmkö'kamekra connive at this transgression, which unlike the present Apinayé, they do not penalize by forcible separation.

595 All the Eastern Timbira are strictly monogamous; even tradition reports not a single polygynous or polyandrous union. Snethlage correctly rejects Tuggia's allegation[illegible] that the Krahô' permit polygamy.

DEFLORATION AND MENSTRUATION

841 833 171 Like their Apinayé cousins,[illegible] the Rąmkö'kamekra firmly assert that menstruation is impossible prior to sexual congress. Such a theory is after a fashion intelligible for the Apinayé, whose girls with possibly a few exceptions are actually deflowered before their first menses, but for the Rąmkö'kamekra it is utterly inconceivable: first, because I personally know a number of girls who were surely of age yet were rated and married as virgins; secondly, as explained above, marriage three generations ago was quite generally not entered before this age and in a condition of chastity. This is confirmed by Ribeiro: "Destinam-se entre elles o consorcio das mulheres logo que pouco mais ou menos tenham 14 ou 15 annos." Moreover, says Pohl, writing of the Pōrekamekra, "dass hier das Beispiel eines gefallenen Mädchens eine unerhörte Sache sey."[illegible] The statement by Pohl, cited by Snethlage

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[illegible] Frées Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 187. Snethlage, Nordostbras., 171, 182. Ignace, Capiekrans, 167.

[illegible] Frei Rafael Tuggia, Mappa, 123.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 73.

[illegible] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 12. Pohl, Reise, 2:193.

841 853 171 about frequently married eight-year-old girls, refers not to the Timbira, but to the Southern Kayapó.

How the native theory of defloration as prerequisite to menstruation could persist is a complete enigma; and its occurrence in identical form among Eastern and Western Timbira proves that the idea is not an innovation. I myself took cognizance of its existence relatively late. An accurate determination of the facts encounters difficulty, not because of Indian prudery, but because the natives could never grasp that I was interested solely in the objective facts: they always [123] supposed that I was taking a personal interest in the girl I asked about. That I was inquiring about two or three girls was also intelligible, though my simultaneously concerning myself with all of them seemed a bit odd. I left the puzzle unsolved.

881 841 585 No special measures are taken at puberty, the procedure remaining uniform for the first and for subsequent menstrual periods. Since defloration and menstruation are equated, the diet is the same in both cases, but in the former it extends to both spouses, who for several days abstain from heavy dishes lest their hair turn gray prematurely. Meat, manioc paste, and manioc flour are taboo, while nowadays rice is reckoned most suitable.

841 Formerly a menstruating female is said to have worn a hip cord of burity bast dyed red, a badge that had completely fallen into desuetude at the time of my stay. She goes bathing as usual, but wears no decoration and does not appear in the plaza, least of all for dancing. In fact, she does not without necessity leave the house, where she is seated on a special mat of paty palm leaves. She must, above all, refrain from looking at the plantation in order not to injure the growth of the crops. She drinks from a special water bottle, but may prepare food for others [412] as well as herself. The use of a scratching-stick is prescribed. It is usually a span in length and consists of a rod of paty leafstalk or any handy little stick as a substitute; the scratcher is usually stuck into the thatch of the wall beside the bed.

[757] No man knowingly has relations with a menstruating woman lest he be afflicted with a headache so violent as to drive him mad. If he recognizes the woman's condition too late, he immediately prepares an infusion of cedar bark, sets it outdoors overnight, and drinks it the next morning.

836 627 596 Though premarital defloration has become the rule as it were, the girl's relatives still demand an indemnity unless marriage follows. Usually there is a family council, embracing the mother, her brothers and sisters, the girl's elder brother if old enough, and the paternal aunt. After a cross-questioning of the girl in order to ascertain the facts, the mother's brother betakes himself to the culprit's family and with the utmost calm and prolixity propounds the claim for indemnification. He rarely receives an immediate reply, for the Timbira are generally extremely slow in reaching a decision. There ensues a discussion by the culprit's family, possibly repeated at intervals of weeks, so that the affair is drawn out over months, sometimes dying of inanition—if for no other reason, because in the meantime the girl has had over-ample time to dispose of her person. In some cases, however, the uncle takes a more determined stand and lays siege to the opposing party till they indemnify the others with a gun or such ironware as a pot, a bush-knife, or an ax, the maternal uncle receiving the lion's share. This, at least, is the contemporary procedure. Anciently, it is said (and confirmed by Pohl), premarital defloration was virtually nonexistent.

833 171 Like the Apinayé and the Šerénte, the Rąmkō'kamekra cohabit both in dorsal and in semilateral feminine position; in the latter case, posteriorly below the woman's raised thigh.

839 Perversions seem to be extremely rare. I know nothing of masturbation or homosexuality. I heard of one youth, somewhat abnormal in other respects, who had cohabited with a calf. The old people declared nothing of the sort had ever happened before. The solitary known case of incest is that described on page 114.

838 A certain Nyõkwų′dn, about twenty-five years old (1936), is a marked invert in tendency. He has a high falsetto voice and a more feminine carriage than many a girl. In sitting down he often assumes a woman's posture and displays a striking predilection for feminine domestic tasks. In a photograph of fourteen young men he is the only one to cover his genitalia with a bunch of leaves. He has never had sexual relations with a girl, but I expressly ascertained that he has never been known to indulge in homosexual practices. The omnipotent ceremonial pattern obliges him to join his age mates in all their performances, which he does unresistingly. To his tribesmen he remains an enigma; tradition does not report any comparable instance in the past. But since he does not play truant in any activity, people do not mock him and permit him to live according to his strange inclinations.

WEDDINGS

585 Formerly the majority of youths married their fiancées in a joint ceremony immediately consequent on the close of the last phase of the initiation festival. The last collective wedding of this sort seems to have occurred in 1913, for none followed the close of initiation in 1923 and 1933. This was probably due to the fact that many of the young warriors were already married. The old people in conversation with me repeatedly regretted the decadence of this usage, and since I encouraged them to insist on its maintenance they arranged with the leaders of the latest initiates, the põhịtíkama class, to make up for the omitted solemnity. Soon the põhịtíkama, whom I had joined as a sort of honorary member, came to me gleefully declaring that after all it would be better to adhere to ancient custom. I eagerly agreed, but when I scrutinized the program it turned out that I was booked to wed the thirteen-year-old Kõrédn! This, then, explained the girl's recent solicitude on behalf of my horses; her uncle Pụtõ′'s remarkably comradely attitude; her elder sister Rą̃reprį″'s invitation to enter the house whenever I passed by. On meeting Pụtõ′ the next time I explained that I was not able to get married in these circumstances. He said nothing in reply for the time being, but went to his maternal home and summoned a family council that included himself, his brother, his two sisters, one of whom was Kõrédn's mother, and another old woman. Then he sent Kõrédn herself to invite me to come. Obviously everything had been settled, for he was the only one to speak, saying that Kõrédn had told him she wanted to marry me; that my impending departure was no obstacle; for some day I would return since I was one of them and not of the "Christians"; that then I should find my wife in precisely the condition in which I had left her, as he and his sister would take care would be the case. I expressed regret over the unfavorable conditions, but persisted in my refusal, explaining the inconvenient consequencies of grass widowhood for the girl (p. 126 f.). All present remained silent, and I went home.

[623] In the evening and on the following day the matter seemed to be discussed further by the council in the plaza. Then once more there was a family assembly in Kõrédn's home, I being again summoned, with the same result as before. All around me their faces showed displeasure, and Kõrédn was in tears. A few hours later a dozen põhịtíkama came to me, accompanied by their commandant, a kwų′tí of mine, who told me categorically that in view of my refusal they had dropped the project of a collective wedding. I vainly tried to convince them that my per-

585 123 suality played a wholly incidental role in this proposed celebration; it was impossible to discuss the matter rationally, which was henceforth never broached again.

596 The older men gave the following account of the solemnity as conducted in the old days:

585 The master of ceremonies was customarily the leader, mamkyê'ti, of the oldest sportively active age class, who in this capacity bore the name of hudoipiapénkaté. The young warriors' maternal uncles went hunting in order to get meat and falcon down. The game was handed over to the brides' mothers, who prepared meat pies therefrom. The young warriors, as well as their brides, were decorated with falcon down, each in his maternal home. The former assembled in the plaza in a precentor's company, sat down in a circle, and began to sing. Then the hudoipiapénkaté grasped the young warriors' leader by the hand, pulled him up, and while singing "hapê-pê-ê toipê amẽã!" he led him to the bride's house, where a new mat was lying spread out over the platform bed and the bride was expecting him in standing position. The hudoipiapénkaté led the couple to the mat, telling them to sit down beside each other, and intertwine arms and legs. Thereupon he admonished them as to the duties of conjugal life. To the groom he might say, "Now you must separate from your parents. You may visit them, you may bring them some of the game brought home from hunting, but above all you must look out for your wife and your mother-in-law!" Then he received a meat pie and left. Similarly, each young warrior in turn was led to his fiancée provided he had one and was of proper age. Then the households of all the newlyweds sent meat pies to the councilors in the plaza.

However, there always remained a number of young warriors who because of their youth or some other reason were not married immediately after initiation, but continued to sleep every night in the plaza and subsequently were married singly, though by the same ceremonial.

Of the Põrekamekra, Pohl writes:[illegible]

> Der Bräutigam erscheint am ganzen Leib mit Gummi bestrichen und mit weißen Vogelfedern beklebt. So geschmückt wird er von seinen Aeltern und Verwandten, unter dem weithin dröhnenden Schall der Hörner, in das Haus der Braut geführt und dort in einer Art von Wortwechsel um diese geworben. Nach ertheilter Bewilligung wird die Feierlichkeit mit einem Schmause beschlossen.

Obviously the author in part misinterpreted the procedure.

833 584 No Ramkô'kamekra is obliged to marry against his will. If a seducer of a virgin refuses to marry her, he can be forced to pay an indemnity but not to take her to wife. This principle still holds, at least in theory. If a mother or uncle were to attempt to coerce a girl into marriage with an economically suitable young man, she would at once thrust at them the story of Kljkwę'i, which seems to date back some sixty or seventy years, when the village was situated on the Riacho Raposa, somewhat below the present settlement.

584 762 152 When Kljkwę'i, who was very pretty, had received her girdle, her mother selected an able and industrious youth for her daughter's husband. However, the girl absolutely refused, preferring another, of whom her mother disapproved. The mother scolded and in reply to her daughter's request for sympathy, struck her on the back with her fist. Kljkwę'i lay down on her platform bed and cried. In the afternoon she got up, hung her corded girdle about her sash-fashion, and went out of the village by herself. Where the northbound road passes between two hills she found a faveira tree at her right; unknotting her girdle, she tied it to a branch and hanged herself. When she failed to return after sunset, people looked for her, found her trail, and then her body. Since then every Indian passerby would strike

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[illegible] Pohl, Reise, 2:193.

584 762 152 the faveira with his bush-knife. In 1936 I was shown the spot and found the tre trunk lying on the ground in decay.

584 604 593 On the other hand, I know of cases in which a maternal uncle forbade his niec to marry a young lad who was obviously going to be a bad husband. In general when marriage is in question a girl always consults her mother's brother in additio to her mother. Nyunkré, the daughter of my "sister" Pųrãkwų'i, delayed he wedding for nearly half a year, waiting for my return to get my consent, notwith standing the presence of another maternal uncle who had raised no objections t the marriage. On the other hand, a father never interferes in a girl's amatory o matrimonial affairs.

586 626 837 Even at present these people adhere to the principle that marriage with a virgi is indissoluble except on grounds of adultery and grave maltreatment. If either spouse indicates an intention to rupture the bond, he has to reckon with the disapproval of fellow-members of all the social units to which he belongs: they wil publicly condemn him, send him a hąpin or a professional peacemaker, and bear down upon him until he yields. During a hunting trip a wakõkama had fallen i love with a wanton such as is always likely to accompany an expedition of this sort. On his return he did not wish to go back to his wife. The negotiations consumed several days, then two members of his age class seized him by his arms dragging him at a trot to his wife's house, while the other classmates followed behind, laid him on the bed beside his wife, and made the two intertwine arms and legs. Thus the affair was settled. I witnessed the scene myself; the culprit's face i unforgettable: he almost died of humiliation and offered not the least resistanc

Similarly Pohl writes of the Põrekamekra:

> Ein solches Ehebündnis ist durchaus unauflöslich, und wenn es einem Indianer einfiele, sich vo seinem Weibe zu trennen, was schon einigen in den Sinn kam, besonders wenn die Weiber fr alterten, so widersetzt sich die ganze Gemeinde einem solchen Vorhaben, und alle alten Indian deren Autorität von den jüngeren sehr geachtet wird, verhalten den Sträflichen zur Ordnung."[illegible]

PROHIBITED UNIONS

582 For the present Indians the principle of moiety exogamy is hardly of consequenc any more, but marriage between relatives of the first and second degree in the ascending or descending line is tabooed. When I encountered one instance of crosscousin marriage while constructing the diagrams illustrating name transference, my informant explained, "Yes, there are human beings as shameless as that!" The union of persons connected by the hąpin bond is likewise prohibited.

SORORATE AND LEVIRATE

587 607 I know of not a single case of a widower's marrying his deceased wife's sister, though in at least one instance this would have been easily possible. This is all the more remarkable because of the considerable familiarity permitted toward a wife's sister even from the period of betrothal on, so that I was sometimes in doubt which of the sisters was the wife. In 1930 the Rąmkõ'kamekra had pretty well decided on marrying me to Iromkré as soon as her term of office as vų'tų' would terminate. Since this was not before 1933 I feigned ignorance of their intentions. Iromkré herself was quite sure of the part assigned to her, but as a vų'tų' was obliged to maintain the proper reserve. On the other hand, her greatest pleasure was to throw her sister Kentapí and me together for playful social intercourse, which her mother obviously encouraged. Subsequently, a year before the close of her term, Iromkré married the second commandant of the kapranpotíkama, Kapêrtuk.

[illegible] Reise, 2:196.

587 Within the whole span of my experience I observed a single instance of the levirate, an elderly widower marrying his younger brother's widow. It struck me as an exceptional case. There certainly was not the least obligation for such a step; on the contrary, several Indians seemed to regard the affair as a bit peculiar and the manner in which the man concerned, my "brother," chief Kukrăčą', told me about it sounded almost apologetic.

MATRILOCAL RESIDENCE; IN-LAWS

591 [758] There is strict matrilocalism; even if a husband builds a separate dwelling for his wife, it is invariably erected beside her mother's. I know of no instance of a woman's spending as much as a single night in her husband's mother's house except to tend him during a serious illness, for in that case he would invariably be conveyed to his maternal home. Sometimes, as noted, a niece may be raised in her paternal aunt's house.

578 592 As a rule a young husband plays a very modest part in his mother-in-law's house. If his conduct is disapproved of, he is not indeed turned out of doors, but the other inmates simply ignore him. Unless, then, the union is of the indissoluble type, the poor fellow either turns over a new leaf or takes his sleeping mat, either returning to his mother's dwelling or joining his age class in the plaza.

606 607 During the first years of wedlock a man never communicates directly with his parents-in-law, his wife serving as an intermediary for either party. In the course of time—especially after the arrival of children—the rule is relaxed, that is, at first only between father-in-law and son-in-law, who henceforth converse with fair freedom from restraint. Finally, the wife's mother also addresses her daughter's husband, though a certain reserve is maintained inasmuch as they avoid meeting or addressing each other when by themselves. In case of a chance encounter the son-in-law gives the woman a wide berth.

On the other hand, a husband is quite free in his intercourse with his wife's brothers. In several instances I was struck by their inconsiderate use of the husband's personal property, and a certain Nyõhí once confidentially complained to me about the tyranny of his brothers-in-law. Connections by marriage never address each other by their names, but use the proper kinship terms unless they are each other's hąpin or kwą'nõ, which makes them substitute these terms. A woman calls a man "my son-in-law" even after the dissolution of the marriage.

421 593 A good son-in-law is, above all, expected to lay out a plantation for his wife and to supply her with meat. Many couples remain in the wife's maternal home for good; some erect one for themselves, but this always belongs to the wife, even after divorce, notwithstanding the fact that it was built by her husband.

562 554 From the matrilocal organization, coupled with feminine house and field ownership, as well as control of the children, it follows that the husband as such plays a minor role, his influence resting on personal merit. With the lapse of time some may thus attain an important position, others remain subordinate all their lives. In no circumstances is there any question of masculine dominance over a wife and children.

177 562 736 000 The contact with civilization, facilitating housebuilding and agriculture through the introduction of iron tools, enhanced the importance of women, while that of men rather decreased through the elimination of war and the diminution of hunting. A widow's destitution, a disowned wife's misery, a couple's quarrel over the control of their offspring—these are matters known to the Canella only as occurring among their civilized neighbors. After the husband's death the widow and her

After the husband's death the widow and her
768 children are shielded from want by her brothers and sisters. A widower normally
886 returns to his mother's house. He is really the one more deserving of pity, especially after decades of wedlock, when he is too old to remarry. Accordingly, two old widowers with adult daughters did not take the trouble to move to their matrilineal home, but for the rest of their lifetime remained with their girls. On the other hand, young widowers who contemplate remarriage leave the house of the deceased a few days after the death even if there should be issue. However, father and children visit each other, the former occasionally bringing the youngsters a gift consisting of victuals and in turn being entertained by them.

585 When a man moves into his mother-in-law's home, his social position alters only
571 with reference to this new relationship to the inmates of the house and to his age class in so far as he ceases to sleep with the bachelors in the plaza. Otherwise his social activities hardly suffer any change; of the many social units with which he is affiliated only the family takes cognizance of the cleavage between married and single men.

591 Strictly speaking, a husband cannot be said to "move" from his maternal to
593 his mother-in-law's home; he rather becomes a member of two households simultaneously, and I have always had the impression that he feels the bond with his mother's house as far closer than with his wife's. This is quite natural since the former is indestructible, while the latter may be dissolved any day. For example, a married man continues to turn over part of his game to his mother's household or has his wife do so. Either alone or in the company of his wife he will often spend a part of the day with his mother, who prepares food for both spouses. Usually a man also keeps part of his personal belongings at his mother's—if for no other reason, in order to preserve them from encroachments by his brothers-in-law. Further, as indicated above, a man who falls seriously ill goes back to his
[764] mother's, usually with his wife, to remain there till his recovery. If it is at all possible, a Timbira dies at his mother's house, where the corpse is invariably laid out.

604 At his mother's a man always is respected and decisively influences his sister's
[726] children, for whose support he is in part responsible in an emergency. His role in a niece's marriage has been noted; anciently, a nephew was his preordained companion in a raid against enemies and preceded him in an attack.

664 After the official council session and the subsequent chat in the plaza, that is, about 7:30 P.M., the dignitaries and their male auditors by no means depart
512 straightaway to their wives, each rather regularly betaking himself to his matri-
593 lineal home, where he is an expected guest at that hour. As soon as he has seated himself there on a bed, his mother, sister, or niece serves him some food that has always been previously prepared for him. Not until he has eaten and uttered his opinion on family affairs does he leave for his wife's home.

MOURNING

765 Whenever a married Indian goes on a protracted journey—say, a begging jaunt
484 to one of the coastal state capitals—his wife goes into a mourner's seclusion until
593 his return. This retreat differs from that customary after a death only through the lack of lamentation and its possibly much greater duration. The woman ceases to cut her hair and to paint herself, puts on no decorative object, does not appear publicly, holds conversation only with her house mates, and rarely leaves her platform bed. Kentapí thus mourned over her absent husband from the beginning of August, 1930, until the beginning of April, 1931. Snr. Marcellino Miranda, the

765 484 593 Indian agent at Barra do Corda, was astounded at this behavior when he came to the village, utilizing the occasion to give the girl, then thirteen or fourteen years old, news received of her husband. Contrary to his expectations, she at first refused to leave her partitioned retreat within the house; when he called her, she got her mother to beg him to speak while she listened behind the partition. The agent, whose curiosity was now aroused, insisted on her coming out, whereupon she finally appeared at the exit, supported by her mother. Her long hair was hanging down over her face; for a moment she remained standing silent, with her eyes lowered, then retreated again. In view of the news he was bringing the agent had of course expected a jubilant welcome.

I photographed Kentapí at the time, as well as three days after her husband's return, when she presented herself to the councilors in the plaza, wearing the down decoration to which her status as a pepkahák-kniěwę'i, hence also a hąmrén, entitled her (pl. 7, *b*, *c*). No one would recognise that these pictures represent the same individual. Her husband, a tamhą'k, hence also down-decorated, stepped out of his sisters' house carrying a meat pie in his arms, and Kentapí then appeared at the door of her own dwelling, directly opposite. Both simultaneously walked along their respective radial paths to the plaza, two old men rose, went to meet them, took their meat pies, divested them of their decoration, and let them return to their houses.

[576] When Kentapí's husband returned from his trip, he had first of all entered his sister's house and seated himself on a mat that had been spread for him in the antechamber. At once all his older kinswomen, as well as his mother-in-law, appeared to greet him singly or in pairs by way of the weeping salutation. It was not until the completion of this ceremony and after having eaten food offered by his sisters that Kentapí's sister, who had remained sitting by her mother at the door, said to him, "Kentapí calls you." He then went ahead of the two women across the plaza and to Kentapí's house, where she was seated on the platform bed in the partitioned space. She grasped him by the shoulders, put her forehead against his, and said, weeping, "You have been away so long, I have been so sorry for you." For all Timbira are convinced that the only spot in the world where it is possible to lead a life worthy of a human being is their native village.

In 1935 Kentapí again went into mourning—though not even approximately of the same strictness—for her brother Pądnhi, who was traveling about; once more her forehead hair grew down to the tip of her nose.

765 852 [831] For a dead person mourning lasts at least a month. A widow who should have an affair prior to this period would be publicly censured. The only veritable row I witnessed among these people was when a widow got herself a lover hardly a week after her husband's death. Pųrãkwéi, the dead man's and my sister, called her names for nearly a quarter of an hour on the boulevard, shouting and threatening to kill her; in fact, she came to me in search of a weapon for the purpose. In her wrath she drew upon the Portuguese stock of vituperative terms, for her own tongue is obviously very poor in this respect.

Externally mourning involves a more or less strict seclusion and letting the hair grow, the latter being invariably observed by the survivors on the death of siblings, parents, parents' siblings, grandparents, and spouses. Another manifestation, and a very obtrusive one, is the daily lament over and above the expression of grief during the funeral (p. 133 ff.); indeed, in the period immediately after death it occurs several times a day. This observance is restricted to adults and practiced incomparably oftener by women than by men. The mourner no sooner recalls the

715 152 deceased than she quite suddenly falls to blubbering rhythmically for several minutes. Such lamentation is indispensable if some tribesman arrives whom the mourner has not seen since her loss or who has been away for some time. In the latter case—as whenever I myself return—another idea coöperates: sympathy with the homecoming traveler, who is supposed to have been exposed to all manner of privations, maltreatment, and dangers during his absence. He seats himself on the mat as described above, his kinswomen lay their heads or arms against his shoulder and bawl in the way indicated, actually shedding tears, and some of them working themselves into a profound state of excitement. On one occasion a mother gave vent to sentiments of despondent grief when she caught sight of a feather ornament given me by her daughter, who had died during my absence.

During major festivals lamentations of this sort are always to be heard emanating from some house or other: The inmates remember some dead relative who would have played a part in the present proceedings if still alive or recall a child on whom the role should have devolved. At major log races I have several times seen some age class throw down the log and then at once trot over to the maternal home of their deceased champion runner in order to join his relatives in bewailing him.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 178 As superficial observers are wont to do, Fróes Abreu alleges that Ràmkô'kamekra men lead a life of idleness while women labor.[illegible] As stated in the relevant sections, all hard work—the clearing of woods, hunting, war—devolves solely on the men, who moreover take part in a series of supplementary activities. It is true that the development of agriculture, the recession of the chase, and the elimination of war have increased feminine work and diminished masculine obligations. On the other hand, women hardly gather wild fruits any more and the construction of more [114] substantial houses, along with the rise of a by no means insignificant home industry, has added to masculine labor. Abreu declares that the women manufacture baskets and mats (p. 180), yet pictures a matmaking man (p. 58)! His statement holds only for certain special types of basketry; others and also mats, the most important 285 article for trade, are never made by women. Burity mats, large, rectangular food 438 bags and lidded suspension pouches are for the most part of Ràmkô'kamekra, in small measure of Apą'nyekra, provenience. They are found in pretty nearly all houses of the central interior of Maranhão and especially in the shops of Barra do Cordo. This industry fails to develop more rapidly for the solitary reason that all trading between the Ràmkô'kamekra and the whites is aimed at mutual cheating.

562 The most one can say is that as the children's caretaker and the sole laborer in domestic chores woman is more constantly employed than man. In any case she is far too independent by virtue of her social status to turn into an idle husband's beast of labor.

DIVORCE

586 [133] Only a few reasons warrant the rupture of marriage with a virgin—barrenness, grave maltreatment, and adultery. As for the first-mentioned ground, I know of only one case, and even there I gained the impression that the wife's sterility was a pretext rather than the real reason. Excessive abuse of a woman led to divorce in a few instances, all of them the result of alcoholism. Adultery on either side is the commonest reason, though, as among the Apinayé, many spouses are willing to overlook a mate's straying from the narrow path. However, Abreu exaggerates beyond all reason in alleging that "as Canellas desconhecem a fidelidade conjugal"

[illegible] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 179.

566 [837] (p. 179). A Neobrazilian is naturally struck by the Timbira's lack of that jealousy so excessively developed in his own society and practically the basis of sex life there. From this difference he draws conclusions for the Indians that would hold for himself.

CHASTITY

831 837 Yet the Rạmkô'kamekra women unquestionably have an ideal of conjugal fidelity; without it, indeed, the grass widow's seclusion and mourning would be inconceivable, nor would adultery figure as a ground for divorce. Couples who have grown old together without ever separating are held up as paragons for the younger generation, and there is a fair number of such models in the tribe. The failure of many to attain the ideal does not disprove its existence. What characterizes Timbira in contrast to Neobrazilian notions of matrimony is the recognition of cases in which extramarital intercourse is not merely allowed but reckoned laudable and honorific, for example the exchange of wives by two kwų'nõ or the role of the two precentresses in peacemaking. Further, since the child's welfare is a primary consideration, a mother must confess extramarital relations during the period of pregnancy in order that the adulterer may be secluded synchronously with the husband, both being thereby publicly acknowledged as fathers. This custom presupposes the husband's ability to bear the avowal with equanimity—an idea utterly opposed to Neobrazilian sentiment.

577 155 156 183 Finally such an attitude is possible only among such a people as the Rạmkô'kamekra, where the individual seems to exist mainly in order to function in a dozen distinct units in accordance with traditional prescriptions, where the supreme social commandment is at any cost to avoid internal dissension. The Timbira define "good" and "bad" men accordingly. He is "bad" who quarrels with tribesmen, insists on personal privileges, will not yield his claims—in short, acts like a kupẽ (Neobrazilian). A "good" man is one who, irrespective of the obvious justice of his case, meets another halfway, not from fear, but in order to avoid dispute; *that* is acting "like us Indians." Tompey (to agree) is the highest social virtue. Further, the ceremonial from which no person can absent himself in many ways forces disputants into coöperative activities.

837 578 593 Mere suspicion is not held adequate to raise the charge of adultery, which can be established only by an eyewitness. Whenever the subject is broached, the first question asked is, "Have you seen it yourself?" The general aversion to disputes discourages informants: anyone who catches someone else's spouse *in flagrante delicto* maintains a discreet silence. Moreover, if the affair comes under discussion, this is restricted to the spouses and their kin; the fellow culprit is never, so far as I know, summoned for a reckoning.

I took cognizance of a fair number of occurrences of adultery. One day Wakái, a hąpín of mine, had an irrefutable proof of his wife Kaňõ's infidelity. Taking his belongings, he left the house, halted in the space in front of it, and declared why he was acting thus. He spoke just loud enough to be heard by the neighbors, but with calm moderation. Kaňõ was genuinely grieved over this consequence of her intrigue. No sooner had her husband departed than she was never seen outside her dwelling. Her relatives, the man's age class, and sundry others—I myself was asked to collaborate as Wakái's hąpín—all exerted themselves to patch up the difficulty and a week later the two were peaceably reunited.

In another case, a woman named Pyčkára was a notorious adultress, but her husband, otherwise no weakling, ignored her waywardness because he was afraid of otherwise being separated from his dearly beloved child.

593 182 Apart from disturbances of this sort and others due to the men's intoxicatio marital life pursues an extraordinarily even course. Matrilocal residence safeguard women from their husbands' tyranny, while the manifold masculine organizatio militate against henpecking. No woman ever tries to keep her husband from takin part in performances of his organizations; and no man forbids his wife to join in a of the three daily dances. Undoubtedly the multiplicity of ceremonial units tend to separate spouses and promotes each one's acting independently of the other. Ma and wife never proceed to a festival or ceremony jointly, each going by himsel whenever his presence is required.

837 833 Many a Neobrazilian neighbor acts as though he had difficulty avoiding fornication with Indian girls constantly offered by their fathers. Snethlage[illegible] thus heard about a mulatto alleged to have secured the *jus primae noctis* of all the virgins in a Krahô' village in return for an annual payment of a dozen head of cattle. In 193 I spent a fortnight in the Krahô' village of Pedra Branca. When I was about t leave, the inhabitants and, above all, chief Vicente Kratpê' made every effort t attach me to the tribe, for they had grasped my attitude toward ancient India usage and wanted to use me to oppose the Baptist missionaries. I was requeste to wait until after a certain festival, but I answered that time would not permi this. Then the chief offered me a girl; I declined. In the evening he and his wif came to me with two girls of whom I was to select the one I liked better. However, both were village wantons, daughters of the chief's sister; and he offered them to me not because I was a transient visitor, but in my capacity of a prospectiv fellow tribesman and champion of tribal tradition.

548 626 On the other hand, I have known a Ramkô'kamekra who kept two young wanton the daughters of a deceased sister, in his matrilineal home, and sold their favors t Neobrazilians. But when people began to gossip about his behavior, it was so vigorously condemned that he felt obliged to forego this source of income.

832 609 According to my observation young girls are the very ones to display a marke repugnance to Neobrazilians, especially if dark skinned and frizzy haired, since th strangers depart widely from the native ideal of manly beauty. Their clothing repel the lasses, their easy-going, sauntering gait seems ridiculous since a kind of dogtro is prized as the acme of youthful dash; and altogether the inquisitive outsider prove a disturbing element. If a Neobrazilian joins a bevy of girls, they soon begi to pass surly comments, and the one who best controls Portuguese speech blunt asks what he wants and bids him depart. They delight in lying to such men, tellin them the Indian men are likely to kill them, etc.

833 609 177 It is nevertheless quite possible that older wantons and perhaps an occasion married woman will yield access to civilized men; such cases hardly ever occur i the settlement, but only when the Indians scatter over their territory in small group during the season before the ripening of the crops. At that time they are everywher surrounded and hemmed in by Neobrazilians, camp in their immediate vicinity, an associate with them. Further, there was one woman in Ponto who was about thirt years old and was known to the Neobrazilians as Romana. She often spent week among them, was the only native woman addicted to drink, and had free intercourse with neighbors; the Indians shunned her, I think, from fear of venere diseases.

WANTONS

837 562 554 The wantons (mentiapeyti) form—apparently among all those Timbira tribes th are still tolerably numerous and well organized—a recognized, though not organized class. According to old custom, girls are wantons if they did not marry

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[illegible] Snethlage, Nordostbras. 178.

837 virgins; the group further comprises all divorcées and widows who do not as soon
562 as possible enter another fixed union. Irrespective of those who were formerly
554 wantons and subsequently became permanently married, Ponto has twelve to fifteen
members of this class. They are not regarded as outcasts nor is their mode of life
condemned as vicious. They arouse public displeasure only if they lure men away
from their wives, and even then the man is held solely responsible. Privately and
publicly the wantons are on a footing of equality in their relations with virgins and
married women; they are simply not models and have certainly failed to live up to
the ideal.

It took me considerable time to determine the identity of the wantons, for their behavior is devoid of impudence or boldness, even in talking with the bachelors of the tribe. To them, too, the Timbira principle applies that a man is helpless against a woman's aversion, so that there is no question of any coercion or of a wanton's obligation to yield to a man coveting her. On the contrary, they choose their lovers and, what is more, mostly in an extraordinarily discreet manner. Usually the wanton gets her brother to ask the young man she favors to bring her a piece of some game animal or something of the sort. If he consents, he immediately suggests through the intermediary a rendezvous at a specified spot in the steppe or the woods at a certain time. Thither he takes his gift and receives his reward.

837 Most of the wantons soon establish so permanent a relationship with their lovers
585 as to create the impression of ceremonially wedded wives as soon as the man sleeps
in her matrilineal home. Indeed, especially after the birth of children, they come to
be regarded as such. So far as I was able to observe, this is even the most frequent
form of union nowadays. Only a small minority fully exercise their right to take up
with any man they wish. Such happenings as Von den Steinen describes for the
Bororo[illegible] are not possible among the Timbira.

The lovers supply their mistresses in the manner stated with gifts, especially victuals, but also with other objects. If the present is such as to be unsuitable for the girl, she will turn it over to her brother, who is usually cognizant of her amours and figures as her natural protector and counselor.

[848] A pregnant wanton names all the men with whom she has had sexual relations
during pregnancy, thus enabling them all to go into seclusion in the infant's
interests (p. 107).

834 At present not a single wanton pays the least attention to moiety exogamy. My
837 impression is that it was these wantons who first transgressed the rule and that
people came to regard union with one of these girls as the normal form of matrimony.

DESIRE FOR CHILDREN

562 The more children parents have, the better they like it. Since there is sex equality
842 neither boys nor girls are preferred. In 1936 six girls happened to be born one after
the other, a circumstance that attracted general attention, but no unfavorable
comment.

586 A man would leave the wife he had married as a virgin provided she proved
842 barren. I do not know how far this was a mere pretext, for I know two childless
couples who have not the least intention of separating for that reason.

782 In order to effect conception a woman breaks the egg of some bird, preferably
that of a *Tinamus* species, and rubs the yolk on her body. Others invoke the sun:
Smearing urucú on the palms of their hands, they go outside the village in the
morning, raise their hands toward the rising sun and pray: "kedti! iymñiykra ñe,

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[illegible] Von den Steinen, Naturvölkern, 388 f.

586 wakakrá iykapeána." That is, approximately: "Grandfather! Give me a child so
842 that I may be able to eat with him." Then the suppliant spreads the urucú on the
782 inside of her thighs.

Kentapí did not take that much trouble. One morning she was sitting at home against the wall, eating some food from a gourd bowl, while the sun was shining in at the door, directly in front of her feet. She set down her bowl, stretched out both palms horizontally toward the sun, like a begging child, and without getting up said in a low tone: "pa'pám! iymá iykra ñoigō! pa'pám iykapré', marwa'té iykré napé. Ka, iykaprēne iymá iykrarehoigō, vamé iypa!" ("Our Father! Give me a child! Our Father, take pity on me, I am sitting here alone, eating. You, pity me, give me a child to eat with me!") On my request she subsequently repeated the words. "I wonder whether he will listen to your prayer?" I asked. "Surely," she answered, "look at Iromkré [Kentapí's younger sister], she also invoked him and is already pregnant." However, it was three years before Kentapí's prayer was fulfilled.

145 It is a striking fact that the girls of this tribe never have children before, and
843 only several years after, marriage. This is regarded as normal by the Indians themselves, and the above-mentioned Iromkré, who conceived immediately after mar-
847 riage, was considered exceptional. She was fifteen as a primipara, and her mother told me that she was really too young to bear children. Abortives, if used at all, are exceptional; nor, in my opinion, can the means employed to prevent menstruation be responsible for the lateness of pregnancy in the light of the earliness of sexual intercourse. For this purpose a girl will seat herself on a steppe tree the Neobrasilians call pau pombo (*Tapirira* sp.?) or drink the infusion of the scrapped bark of pau candeia (*Cassia* sp.), which is also considered an abortive.

In any case Snethlage probably underestimates the age of mothers in setting that of Ramkó'kamekra girls who already had a child at barely twelve;[illegible] or, possibly the child he had in mind was not the offspring of the girl with her. The youngest mother I saw was certainly Iromkré, whose age was between fourteen and fifteen.

OLD AGE

561 Old people are esteemed; a junior would not venture to address them by name as
576 though they were of his own age, but will always apply a kinship term, calling them
888 kedti or ty'ire (grandparent) even if there is no blood relationship. Children and young people never try to converse with their elders unsolicited; even when they have to make some communication to them, they usually remain standing before them in silence until asked to speak. In meeting old people on a narrow path, the younger ones make way to let them pass. I have never heard the frailty of old age derided or mocked. Old Krithí', though already hard of hearing and very myopic, would insist on occasionally going to the creek five to six kilometers beyond the village to try his luck as an angler. On these trips he went astray several times on the numerous trails crisscrossing the steppe and was unable to find his way home. Then his grandsons or great-nephews trotted in his wake like hunting-dogs and jubilantly led him back by the hand.

886 I have pointed out (p. 94) that after a period of some forty years of athletic life
623 all men of an age class ceremonially and automatically drop out of the sports activ-
889 ities to enter the council, which constitutes the real governing body of the tribe since the chiefs undertake nothing without their advice. Further, I have explained by many illustrations that after any ceremonial retreat a person must present himself to this assemblage before being reckoned a full-fledged member of society again.

[illegible] Snethlage, Reise, 462.

886 this presentation always involving the gift of a gourd bowl of food or of a meat pie. 623 At various other ceremonies the chiefs and elders also get meat pies and other victuals in the plaza.

887 At the close of the pepyé retreat in 1933 I witnessed a ceremony that publicly and formally expressed the principle that old women merit respect as much as old men. Ordinarily there is no feminine counterpart to the men's council in the plaza; but on that day the old women were invited by the councilors to take the male elders' places in the plaza, the councilors themselves withdrawing to a spot on the margin. Then two youths and a girl hauled in a huge meat pie on a mat and handed it over to the old women, who forthwith divided it up and ate it precisely in the manner of the councilors, whereupon they went home.

Among the Timbira the designation "old woman" or "woman" is never applied to men vituperatively.

BURIAL

764 As stated previously, a Canella, whenever possible, tries to die in his matrilineal home. In 1929 I saw relatives of a very old, sick woman exerting themselves to the utmost in order to get her home alive—an end accomplished only by dashing across the steppe with the patient, who was resting in a makeshift hammock. Several minutes after her arrival she died. In any case a corpse is never laid on a bier except in the maternal home.

763 A dying person is placed on mats in the middle of the house, with his feet toward the door. Except in the case of a prominent figure in the community no one but the next of kin customarily assembles around the patient. A brief lament uttered by his mother, aunt, grandmother, or sister announces his passing away. Thereupon his maternal and paternal kin, as well as his hapín, assemble in the house of mourning, but the general lament by all present does not begin until about an hour later, with the preparation of the corpse, during which all sit round it on mats placed in juxtaposition.

764 The ablutions and ornamentation devolve on the deceased individual's special pinčwę'i or hapín, but other hapín also help. They cut his hair, pluck out his eyebrows, smooth his features, and put on his decorations. He is painted with urucú or—if a hamrén—decorated with falcon down. The corpses of little children are taken into the nearest relatives' laps (including males) and bewailed. Individual lamentations now begin to swell into a chorus of blubbering and a loud, rapid, monotonous chant: "When you were still alive, I was very fond of you, but now [762] I do not want you any more! Don't return here!" The widow and kinswomen of the deceased may weep themselves into a paroxysm of despair and attempt suicide, especially as the corpse is being carried outdoors. Suddenly seizing a tool or firebrand, the mourner may strike herself a terrific blow over the head or back. Or she may run into the space in front of the house and, precisely like her Guaraní and Apinayé sisters,[illegible] take a header (kamdoóp) against the hard ground, possibly breaking her neck. Many years ago a mother, seeing her dead child carried away, is said to have run into the steppe and hanged herself there. Men never commit suicide on this occasion, and generally only the maternal uncle and grandfather are conspicuous in lamentation.

764 At Kenkré's little son's funeral I noted the order in which relatives sat round 596 the corpse: Kenkré was at the head, his mother Yǫtkré and her sister Kentapí at the feet, his wife and one of her sisters on the right side, his mother-in-law and another sister-in-law on the left. A little to one side was seated his father-in-law,

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 152.

769 chief Ropkų', and opposite him chief Kukrɔkų', who calls Ropkų' his uncle, wa
596 delivering the funeral oration. When the women put the corpse on Ropkų''s la
he began to cry aloud and desperately, while Kukrɔkų' rose and went to the pla
to arrange for the digging of the grave. In the meantime the boy's maternal unc
who was to have transferred his name to the child arrived on the scene, likewis
took the corpse on his lap, and fell to crying violently. Kentapí called my attentio
to the fact that neither she nor her mother took hold of the corpse lest the chil
of her sister Iromkré, who was still in her lying-in retreat, should cry constantly.

769 In the plaza the chief asks who wishes to dig the grave. A volunteer always come
616 forward, but it must not be a member of the dead man's exogamous moiety. Th
mode of remunerating his and the corpse decorators' services has been describe
(p. 102).

765 Formerly, when secondary burial was still in vogue, the deceased was first buri
behind his mother's house, except for a hąmren (p. 98). When I visited the Krahô' i
764 1930, these Indians seemed to have still maintained the custom of burial behind th
177 house; the Ramkô'kamekra of today would at most follow it in the case of an infan

The grave is more or less 2 meters in depth. Formerly it was round, and th
corpse was put in there in a sitting posture, facing east.[illegible] At present, at least amon
the Ramkô'kamekra, the grave is exclusively rectangular, the corpse lying extende
on its back.

764 If the death occurs in the morning, the burial takes place in the evening; if a
766 person dies in the evening, he is buried the following morning and there is an al-
night lament near the corpse. If the deceased man's prominence draws many re-
lated persons to the spot, a kinsman kills a pig, which is hurriedly prepared fo
the entertainment of those present. Part of the food is then put in a gourd for th
dead man, an elderly woman several times holding a morsel close to his mouth.

The mats on which the corpse rests are folded over it and tied firmly at bot
ends and in the middle. Then the bundle is hung to a pole, which two men carr
to the cemetery—at present from one and a half to two kilometers from the villag
A few additional mats are taken along for the adjustment of the grave. None o
the Timbira tribes throws earth directly on the corpse, as reported for the Po-
kamekra by Pohl, who does not, however, seem to have attended a funeral; an
the grave described by Ribeiro was presumably not a Timbira's, as he assume
but that of a Gamella of Vianna.[illegible] The opening of the grave is covered with trans
versely laid pieces of wood, which are topped with mats before heaping up earth
Lest the heat of the sun annoy the deceased, twigs and palm fronds are put on th
mound; sometimes the grave is fenced with old racing logs to keep out roamin
domestic pigs. (See pl. 26, *b*).

At least nowadays there are no funeral deposits except that a woman's carryin
basket may be laid on her mound along with a gourd bowl, her spindle, and the lik

The next of kin never accompany the corpse to its grave, but remain seated i
the house of mourning, weeping probably another half hour at the empty sp
where it had been resting. Then they have themselves sprinkled with water in fro
of the house "in order to remove the dead man's perspiration," a service which i
paid for. The house and the space before it are always swept.

775 Like the Apinayé,[illegible] the Canella believe that the shadow of a person who di
171 "hungry," that is, has not for some time prior to his demise taken any food, wi
return to his mother's house in search of sustenance. Their procedure is quite li

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[illegible] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Snethlage, Nordostbrasilien, 173.

[illegible] Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Ribeiro, Memoria, § 36-38.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé,

775 that of the Apinayé: the relatives stimulate a hunt, prepare a meat pie, and at
171 nightfall set it on a little scaffold behind the house in the steppe, with a gourd bowl full of water. While the rest of the people are dancing in the plaza, an old man watches near by until he hears a rustling in the leafy wrapper of the pie. Then he announces to the others: "He has already eaten!" Thereupon the councilors have the pie brought to the plaza, where they distribute it among themselves.

In 1935 I witnessed an unusual funeral ceremony. Kwǫiré're, a young woman of
766 about nineteen, had died in confinement. She had been the girl associate of the kapręppotíkama age class and because of her gentle, amiable disposition enjoyed extraordinary popularity. Since by virtue of her office she was hąmrén, her corpse had falcon down glued on and its cheeks were decorated with small black triangles. Thus it lay on a mat opposite the door, surrounded by her wailing tribesmen.

In the meantime her age class assembled in the plaza, where they sat down in a line, while a precentor slowly shook his rattle and sang in an undertone. At last they rose, trotted toward the house of mourning, entered, and formed a line on both sides of the door, facing the corpse, continuing to sing with muffled voices, and adumbrating dance movements. Suddenly three of them stepped up to the corpse, one of them raising it from the rear and setting it on its feet, while his two companions took her arms. Thus they executed with the dead woman characteristically feminine dance movements, making her bend the knees slightly and move her arms, which were flexed at right angles, backward and forward. The lament swelled into a terrific hubbub, men, women, and children all howling in savage desperation. The corpse's pale, decorated countenance, over which a half-indifferent smile seemed to glide, contrasted oddly with the grief-distorted, tear-stained faces of the mourners. The macabre dance lasted only a few seconds, then the three laid down the body, folded the mats over it, tied up the bundle, and lifted it to their shoulders without the customary attachment to a pole. With it they ran outdoors, followed by their classmates, and disappeared at a trot. Thus the class carried their dead associate to her grave after having once more made her dance before them as of yore.

764 Formerly all the Timbira practiced secondary burial. Among the Pũrekamekra
177 Pohl obtained the following account:

> Nach Verlauf eines Jahres versammelt sich die Gemeinde wieder unter denselben Ausdrücken der Trauer an dem Grabe; es wird geöffnet, der Körper herausgenommen, hingelegt, und nun erzählt man ihm alles was sich seit seinem Tod in der Aldea im Allgemeinen und in seiner Familie im Besondern zugetragen hat. Hierauf werden die Gebeine des Verstorbenen mit Urucú rot bemalt, und zur abermaligen Beerdigung nach dem allgemeinen Begräbnisplatz getragen.

Until some twenty years ago the Canella still maintained secondary burial in individual cases, at least for the hąmrén; for the rest of the population the custom had fallen into desuetude. Formerly, the secondary interment took place three or five years after the first. The most appropriate person to execute it was the husband of the widow's sister; and if a bachelor undertook the job, he thereby acquired a certain claim to the hand of the widow's unmarried sister. Unfortunately I do not know what preferential conditions obtained at the secondary burial of a woman.

The bones were scraped clean with an implement from the leafstalk of a bacaba palm and were painted with urucú. Then they were wrapped up in cotton threads specially spun for the purpose by the dead person's mother (or a kinswoman acting as her substitute) and tied together. Finally the remains were put into a burity bag and buried in a shallow hole in the cemetery.

The period of mourning and the rules of inheritance are described elsewhere (pp. 126, 158).

AMUSEMENTS

526 *Log races.*—Log races form the national sport not only of all the Timbira (cf. p. 141 f.), including the Apinayé, but probably of all Northwestern and Central Gê. None of the other numerous observances that characterize the public life of these tribes has so deeply roused the attention of civilized observers. This is primarily because, next to the girls' dances in the plaza, log racing is the most frequently repeated ceremony; further, it stands out for its dramatic impressiveness. On the other hand, the furious tempo of the procedure—which is usually over before the spectator can scrutinize it—hinders accurate comprehension. Accordingly most of the statements in the literature rest wholly or in part on secondhand information.

The erroneous notion, widespread among Neobrazilian neighbors, that log racing represents a suitor's test, is constantly strengthened by statements admitted into the literature. The Indians themselves contribute their mite to the misunderstanding when harried by leading questions as to the supposed matrimonial trial. I myself was rather astonished to overhear a young Indian telling a newly arrived police officer with cynical nonchalance that only such of his tribesmen might marry as had passed the racing test. When I subsequently demanded an explanation he replied laughingly, "Why, he doesn't understand anything about it anyway!" The lieutenant had given him two milreis, expecting to hear some piquant story about marriage customs. I noted strictly parallel behavior among the Apapocúva-Guaraní when questioned by inquisitive whites about their religion: Without a single exception they then declare that their god is named Tupã (as stated in all Brazilian textbooks) even though they thus designate a rather subordinate thunder demon and call their high god by a totally different name.[10]

Since I have frequently had to refer to the log races because of their close connection with Timbira social structure, I shall restrict my present remarks to a few general statements and a summary account.

A log race is run by two competing teams, hence every race is executed with two logs, a fact ignored by all previous visitors to the Timbira and sufficient to demonstrate the superficiality of their observations. The races may occur during any season of the year, though the constitution of the teams varies. During the vų'tų' period the races are most frequent and most important, so that in exceptional cases there may be up to three races a day. The participants range from about fifteen to fifty-five years of age—irrespective of the unofficial races by uninitiated boys. The purely sportive character of the performance further appears from the frequent races that follow the major log races—either relay races around the boulevard by the same teams; or races of paired competitors transversely across the plaza from one vų'tų''s house to the other.

The tracks are of two types: (a) Most commonly the racers run from the place of manufacture of the logs, using as much as possible the streets that radiate from the village toward the four points of the compass. These tracks vary greatly in length, from a little over one kilometer to twelve and a half kilometers, the most usual extent being three kilometers. (See pl. 1, *c*.) (b) In other cases the boulevard constitutes the course; in Ponto it was nearly one kilometer in length, and the racers might run around it as many as five times.

However, races of the latter type are usually held only to supplement a log race from outside into the village. In no case do the competitors start around the boulevard with already used logs, subsequently fetching new logs from without.

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[10] Nimuendajú, Religion der A-Guaraní, 322 f.

526 322 824 The ordinary logs are called krowa, burity palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*), being formed from a cylindrical section of one of these trees. About 1 m. long and 40-50 cm. in thickness, these logs may be estimated to weigh 100 kg., but are actually somewhat lighter. To afford a better grip the makers set off a shallow hollow from the margins of the terminal planes. (See pl. 29, *b*.) Among the Krikatí I saw gigantic logs, but they had been bilaterally hollowed out, leaving a transverse partition 5 cm. in thickness. Invariably a man of mature years tests the completed logs at the site of manufacture, ordering those he judges too heavy to be lopped off and over-light ones to be deposited in the water.

Logs made out of the heartwood of other trees are called pąra. The pą'rakahą'k made at the beginning of the pepyé initiation—with grips projecting from the terminal planes in the direction of the longitudinal axis—represent a special variety. I observed similar specimens among the Kre'pą'mkateye. Distinct from these are the pąrakadą're used on the first and second days of the closing ceremony of the ketúaye festival. Their weight is negligible; on the other hand, the hąmkrán typical of the opening of the vą'tę' season are the heaviest I have ever seen.

526 292 For the more solemn log races the Rąmkö'kamekra adorn themselves with girdle pendants far less impressive than those of the Apinayé; they likewise put on forehead bands, neck bands, sashes, and burity-fiber girdles. The pendants and the girdles have long posterior tail-like appendages. At a major race at the close of the ketúaye the participants had tied together their long occipital hair with a grass fan of the type referred to on page 48 (see pl. 20, *b*).

526 302 534 [271] The Rąmkö'kamekra paint themselves black for a log race. During it they use as instruments only trumpets and their little calabash ocarinas. Like the Apinayé they wrap their wrists with plaited cotton cords terminating in tassels (pl. 11, *c*, *d*); this is to afford protection from chafing against the edge of the log. It is the young girls' duty at major races to provide themselves with gourd bottles filled with water and, keeping pace with the runners, to slake their thirst.

526 The teams alternate in issuing a challenge. Either at an evening or a morning session a councilor once and for all delegated for this duty loudly calls the team whose turn has come, "aikö'! aikö'! ape kǫ'ikateye (or whatever may be the team in question) kanąm meká iykre kačúa to ike'ké!" Those summoned reply in chorus, "hö'o!"

At a suitable distance from the village, in a *galeria* forest with burity palms, the challengers prepare the two logs and, when done, drag them to one of the race tracks if feasible, but as a rule only as far as one of the bypaths that ultimately lead to the track. A space about 6 m. square is cleared, and there the logs are laid down at a distance of about 1½ m. from each other, resting on leaves so as not to be soiled. They are always put down with the axis in the direction of the course. The above-mentioned hąmkrán are painted red by two erstwhile girl associates of the pepyé. (See pl. 29, *a*.)

526 554 The ceremony of the čą'kate with the hąmkrán logs resting on the ground has been described. The office of these four čą'kate is attached to the names Vakái, Pąrkré, Pądnhí and Mikrö', with which it is passed on by inheritance. Their badge consists of a girdle plaited of cotton; it is of the width of two fingers. Hanging from it is a pendant (čą) of rattling objects, properly tapir hoofs; but since nowadays the tapir is extinct within the tribal domain, the tips of little bottle gourds, deer hoofs, and ostrich beaks serve as substitutes. From this girdle the čą'kate derive their name, and formerly all four of them wore these emblems in their official capacity; but at present only one of them owns one.

On the eve of the major races of the vų'tę' period the teams assemble in their vų'tę' girls' houses, whence they march out simultaneously toward the plaza, shouting and often halting; at their goal they sit down facing each other in two parallel rows. One of the čų'kate seats himself in front of the double line, holding his rolled-up girdle in his hand, and slowly begins beating time on the ground with it, the rest accompanying him with two songs in an undertone.

Sometimes both teams assemble simultaneously by the completed logs, each assuming its appropriate side. Usually, however, the challengers are the first to arrive, their opponents purposely deferring their appearance for an appreciable time and slowly approaching amid trumpet blasts. As soon as the newcomers are visible the challengers form a line behind the logs and intone a song while slowly clapping their hands. When the marchers have got to within forty or fifty meters, the singers raise their hands aloft and stamp their feet until the opponents have reached the logs. Forthwith four men from each team lift their own log to the first racer's shoulder, and he immediately dashes off in the direction of the village, followed and surrounded by a tumultuous troop of his fellows. The first choice is always one of the best runners, in order to have an encouraging start. When the two log bearers are running side by side, each has for his lane that side of the track on which his team had its log lying at the start of the race.

At once a mad chase starts in. Yelling and inciting the racers to greater efforts, blowing trumpets and ocarinas, the Indians with their waving grass ornaments bound deerlike to the right and left of the log-bearers' path, leaping over tufts of grass and low steppe bushes. After a distance of about a hundred and fifty meters, a fellow member runs up to the log bearer, who without stopping in his course dexterously twists his body around so as to transfer his load to his mate's shoulder, and the race continues without the least interruption. Thus it goes on madly down the slopes of the hills in the torrid sunshine of the shadeless steppe, across brooks and uphill again, in the burning, loose sand that unresistingly yields to the feet. Soon the old folks and women carrying children are left behind, unless they have previously taken up a place ahead in order to see the racers dashing past somewhere farther on. Again and again a new substitute rushes up to relieve a racer as soon as his pace threatens to slacken. The spectators witness desperate efforts by the class-leaders and those who pique themselves on their reputation as log bearers. Nevertheless after a few kilometers the group of panting runners bathed in perspiration has diminished perceptibly. The cries urging one another on grow hoarse and forced, with an indescribably tortured ring. Nimble, light-footed maidens serve a draught of water to the racers from a gourd bottle as they run by, but no one is allowed to throw off the log for a stop and rest, no matter how far ahead his team may be. At last the village appears on yonder height. With a last supreme exertion the runners force themselves up the sandy, worn incline. At this stage not a man is able to carry his load farther than thirty meters, so that there is a constant change of log bearers. But finally the houses of the boulevard are reached, and this street is followed to the door of the vų'tę' girl's house. Or, if the teams are composed of the plaza moieties, they take the nearest radial path to the plaza. At last the log is dropped with a thud.

Breathless the rear guard of the winning team puts in its appearance; the champion of the losing side arrives and hurls his log alongside of its predecessor. Pitiably panting and with trembling limbs the winner seats himself on his log, while an old man assuming an expert's manner kneads and strokes the racer's legs and body. But the rest lasts only a moment. Then the members of one team trot to the maternal

526 home of their deceased best runner, who died on a journey a year ago; there they indulge in a brief lament. Then—lest anyone imagine they were exhausted by their bit of exercise—they once more take up their logs and run around the boulevard with them, or run an ordinary race by twos, or a relay race. Not until then do they take a bath.

535 After every major race a solo dance is indicated. Properly it devolves on one of the four čq'kate, but very often some other man who happens to feel like it assumes the rattle girdle and with it their role. In addition he has for insignia his club and a special dance staff or at least an arrow which he grasps with both hands and holds aloft in horizontal position. Usually he begins in the plaza, then trots on the radial path to a house, in front of which he spends several seconds singing and dancing, whereupon he returns to the plaza by the same path, again dances there, uses the next radial path, and continues thus till he has danced before each and every one of the thirty houses and is then as a rule completely exhausted. However, it often [533] happens that the performer merely dances from house to house along the boulevard without each time returning to the plaza. The accompanying solo songs illustrate the sharp distinction the Rąmkö'kamekra draw between piano and forte. Snethlage mentions a solo dancer who alternately balanced his dance staff on his finger tips, his nose, or chin.[illegible] This is certainly not a fixed custom; I have never witnessed it.

526 147 Notwithstanding the well-nigh superhuman exertions made I have not observed any detriment to the health of the log bearers; nor does the ensuing bath prove unsalutary. On the other hand, in any race of considerable extent there are many minor foot injuries due to tree stumps and thorns.

526 201 156 183 And now we come to the feature that remains incomprehensible to the Neobrazilian and leads to his constantly ascribing ulterior motives to this Indian game: The victor and the others who have desperately exerted themselves to the bitter end receive not a word of praise, nor are the losers and outstripped runners subject to the least censure; there are neither triumphant nor disgruntled faces. The sport is an end in itself, not the means to satisfy personal or group vanity. Not a trace of jealousy or animosity is to be detected between the teams. Each participant has done his best because he likes to do so in a log race. Who turns out to be the victor or loser makes as little difference as who has eaten most at a banquet. Only the lazy- [578] bones who plays truant when a race is on becomes the target of blame and mockery. The term čukaká (p. 119) is considered very derogatory, especially when applied by a woman to a man.

526 224 The major log races held at the close of the annual festivals, above all at pepyé, invariably arouse the interest of the entire village. The ordinary ones create much less excitement. When men in a group return from some big hunting trip or other labor, they generally enter the village by way of a log race. If the participants are few in number, they simply chop off two tree limbs corresponding to their strength. Though such races proceed quietly and unobtrusively, the entrance into the village nevertheless always lures a number of interested spectators to the doors of their houses.

526 At one of the great races it is difficult to supervise individual achievements. To be sure, a competent class-leader will try to regulate the procedure, but it may well happen that a good runner overexerts himself at the very start or at a particularly unfavorable stage of the course so as to fall far behind, while an inferior racer manages to save his strength for the finish. With the general enthusiasm and agitation, artificially heightened by the noise, there is little scope for cold, calculating

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[illegible] Snethlage, Nordostbras., 179.

526 organization of teamwork. In contrast to the Apinayé, these people make not th slightest effort to improve inferior achievements in log racing.[illegible]

554 The champion racers (mehitų'i) are esteemed and enjoy a certain prestige, bu no special prerogatives or insignia.

The following is the constitution of the opposing sides:

526 1. During the ceremonial season it is in general the two western age classes tha
616 are pitted against the eastern pair. This arrangement still holds if a hetáye o pepyé festival is held that year.

561 2. The pųrakahą'k race at the beginning of the pepyé seclusion is exceptional i
575 that the western plaza groups compete with the eastern ones. For further exception, see below under 7.

3. During the entire course of a pepkahą'k celebration the Duck society race against the Falcons. At the close of this festival the Clowns, the King Vultures, an the pepkahą'k themselves side with the Falcons.

4. During a tepyarkwá the eastern run against the western plaza groups; or, i the simpler form of the festival, the eastern and western age classes oppose each other.

5. During the Mummers' festival the Mummers and the Agoutis race against th Jaguars.

6. The Agoutis, aided by the Clowns, also oppose the Jaguars at the termina celebration of every ceremonial season.

7. During the meipimrą'k season the kų' are pitted against the atų'k.

526 In former times there also seems to have been competition between members o
628 different tribes; and since the performers would clandestinely bring along weapon and hide them somewhere en route—a thing that never happened in intratribal contests—dangerous brawls resulted. I heard of instances apparently dating back some forty to fifty years. The Apąnyekra, then far more numerous than now, would come to visit the Rąmkô'kamekra, manufacturing logs at a suitable distance fro the village and then issuing their challenge. Since there was always some bad bloo between these tribes, the race would terminate in sanguinary fighting.

526 On certain occasions the bigger girls and young women likewise race with logs;
881 but while the annual number of men's races far exceeds a hundred, I know of only the following four occasions that involve a feminine race as part of the programme:

562 1 and 2. When at the close of each phase of initiation a tamed wild pig is killed and prepared for eating, a log race is arranged. The simultaneously racing men are grouped according to eastern and western age classes, to which units there i no feminine parallel. Accordingly the matrilineal kinswomen of members of the eastern age classes compete with those of the western classes.

3. According to a corresponding principle the several feminine log-race teams at the tepyarkwá festival are recruited from matrilineal kinswomen of the eastern and western plaza moieties.

4. At the opening of the meipimrą'k season there is a log race for girls and women. Since the dual division of this period embraces both sexes, the organization into teams automatically follows for both.

526 Although the girls and women are always granted a considerable handicap i
562 competition with the youths and men, they are invariably soon overtaken. The women's logs are manufactured by the men and often made too heavy. Four times I witnessed the desperate, but vain efforts by the women to carry their logs into the village unaided; they were especially baffled by the downtrodden sand of th

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 74.

526 terminal incline. At the closing ketúaye ceremony the biggest of the graduating
522 novices lent them a hand. In the other cases several of the men, after delivering their own logs, turned back to help the women. In 1933 or thereabouts a certain Yarpót, then seventeen years of age and wedded to the champion racer of the recently initiated age class, ranked as the best of the female runners. Women who have borne children no longer actively participate in the log races.

Only the opening race of the meipimrą'k season takes place in the fashion mentioned above, with large but bilaterally hollowed burity logs. Otherwise the racers of this period use gradually enlarged logs, as noted.

527 In addition to the races hitherto described, which belong in the category of athletic sports, there are others of symbolic character, executed like those of the
531 opening of the meipimrą'k period with logs too light for a test of athletic prowess. Accordingly, they are rather simple relay races with symbolical miniature logs.

This holds in even greater measure of the pąrare (racing logs of the souls of the dead), which weigh only about 245 gr. apiece and are used by the plaza moieties at the close of each initiation phase.

Small pąrare, only 2-5 cm. long, serve as ornaments, being suspended in pairs or bundles from necklaces and sashes (pl. 35, *d*). Nowadays, at least, the Indians attach no interpretation to such decoration. Several times I have seen noteworthy pąrare resembling the little girls' dolls in being characterized as male or female by wax breasts, girdles and hip cords.

417 Given the predilection of the Timbira for these races, old logs are seen lying about in great numbers everywhere in their villages. Anyone may appropriate these and use them at his pleasure. One sees them inside and in front of the houses, as a rule unsplit, rarely bisected, serving as settees along the walls. People like to use them as a barrier to the freely roaming domestic pigs, either by laying one transversely before the threshold or putting them square-fashion round young fruit trees and other plants to be protected near the houses. Sometimes the graves to the rear of the houses and even in the cemetery are fenced in this manner. The fibrous, sappy palm wood rapidly dries out, whereupon the old logs are chopped up for fuel.

526 As stated, log races seem to be the national sport of all Timbira tribes. I have witnessed them among the Rąmkö'kamekra, the Apinayé, and the Krahô'; and
171 seen logs of the type in Apą'nyekra, Krikatí, Pųkôbye, and Kre'pų'mkateye villages. Among the Timbira of Araparytíua (middle Gurupy) I learned that the sport was still in vogue in 1913. In 1931 a punitive expedition to the wild Gaviões discovered two wide, straight roads, probably race tracks, and a rattle girdle with tapir hoofs such as is worn by the Canella čų'kate (p. 139). According to the handful of Čą'kamekra survivors, log racing formerly played the same role as among the Rąmkö'kamekra. Of the now likewise extinct "Poracramacrans" (Põrekamekra) Pohl reports a log dance, which unfortunately he did not himself witness, for which a special circle had been formed in the plaza:

> Bey diesem Tanze bedienen sie sich bey drittehalb Ellen langer, anderthalb Schuhe im Durchmesser haltender, 4–6 Arroben schwerer Klötze [which Pohl obviously saw] welche auf den Schultern getragen und von den Tänzern einander zugeworfen wurden.[illegible]

To hurl and catch logs weighing 87 kg. while dancing is presumably not quite so simple as Pohl seems to have been made to believe.

The only Timbira groups for whom I have discovered no evidence of log races are the inconsiderable remnants of the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and of the Kukóekamekra and Krẽyé of Bacabal, whom I have never visited in their villages. However, the

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[illegible] Pohl, 2:[illegible].

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probability is that they, too, practiced this sport so long as an adequate number of men was available, which is no longer the case.

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The nearest linguistic and cultural relatives of the Timbira, especially of the Apinayé, are the Northern Kayapó. According to Kissenberth[illegible] the "Tanz mit dem schweren Holzklotz auf der Schulter" forms the acme of their akre festival, which he connects with a lunar cult but has not yet described in print. Thus he, like Pohl, mentions a log *dance*.

The Southern Kayapó, clearly distinct from the Northern Kayapó (p. 6), had dwindled down to some 40 people in 1907 and are probably quite extinct today. According to Silva e Souza,[illegible] in 1812

> ...nas visinhanças da Paschoa [beginning of the dry season] pintam em si com tinta de genipapo botinas, peitos de armas, e fazem então com grande vozeria as suas festas e jogos, sendo o mais celebre o que chamam touro, em que se disputam uns aos outros as forças na carreira, tomando uns do hombro de outros um grande tronco que empregam neste ministerio.
>
> (...about Easter they paint their boots and armor with genipa and then amid great shouting they celebrate their festivals and games. Of these, that known as touro [bull; error for tôro, log] is the most famous; in it they test their powers in running, taking from one another's shoulders a large tree trunk used at this performance.)

In other words, they had a genuine sportive log race differing from the Timbira form only in the alleged use of a single log.

But Pohl's report on the same tribe is quite different: The log (a single one!) was 1½ yards in length and 12 inches thick, that is, much thinner than the Timbira equivalent, and weighed a hundredweight. At night in the dance some man would leap about in a circle with it and throw it toward some other man. Pohl's further remarks about the use of the log during the festival of Gebrar Cabeça (= quebrar cabeça, head-breaking) held "zur Fastenzeit" and during mourning are obscure and surely rest even less than the above description of the log dance on his own observations.[illegible]

Thus Pohl is the first to credit the Timbira and Kayapó with a log dance, not a log race. Since he did not observe it in either tribe, I am unable to decide whether the "dance" concept is due to erroneous information given him or to a misunderstanding on his part. This would not apply to Kissenberth, who probably witnessed the phenomenon; but how easily an investigator may be tempted to drop into his predecessors' phraseology, precisely in this matter, is illustrated by Snethlage, who speaks of a Ramkó'kamekra log dance, which his own account unmistakably marks as a true race.[illegible] Failing, then, more precise reports by trustworthy eyewitnesses, the log "dance" seems dubious, though gaining in probability in view of the mariddo ceremony of the Eastern Bororó.[illegible]

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The Šerénte have a log race. Another presumably Gê people practicing this sport is the Kamakan tribe in southern Bahia between the Contas and Pardo rivers.[illegible] Their log, though made from another kind of wood, resembled the Timbira type in size and weight and, like the pą'rakahą'k, was provided with grips. The Kamakan, too, constructed straight, tidy race courses, though only a quarter-mile long, and ran from the end of the lane to the village. Wied-Neuwied and Douville both mention a single log, which according to Wied-Neuwied the other performers tried to get away from the bearer during the chase. Douville makes the latter try to remain

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[illegible] Araguaya-Reise, 58.

[illegible] Memoria, 494.

[illegible] Pohl, 1:406.

[illegible] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 182.

[illegible] Lévi-Strauss, Contributions, 78f, note 1.

[illegible] Wied-Neuwied, 2:222; Spix and Martius, 2:695; Douville, Voyage, 234.

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ahead of the other runners—an obvious impossibility with a burden weighing 116 to 130 kg.—but says that he was relieved every two hundred paces. Wied-Neuwied calls the Kamakan race a game and a trial of strength, merely saying that the young belles applauded the incoming racers at their goal. According to Spix and Martius, that one of a girl's suitors won her who was able to carry the log farthest. Elsewhere Martius[illegible] describes Kamakan log racing as "Gymnastik" without mentioning any connection with marriage. Douville plainly declares it to be a matrimonial trial: "tout homme qui ne peut faire cet exercice n'est pas admis a prendre une femme."

It is obvious that the conception of Kamakan log racing as a test for marriage developed in the period between 1817 (Wied-Neuwied) and 1833 (Douville). But the details of all three reports show that in this tribe, too, it was a matter of testing the capacities of a team, not of an individual. Were it otherwise, he would certainly have been made to run alone with his log; and the shifting of the load from one runner to another an indefinite number of times for every two hundred paces as described by Douville would certainly render it difficult to gauge the suitor's ability.

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The Kaingang lack every form of log racing, their national sport being the throwing of clubs.

Northeast of the Timbira, in the part of Maranhão watered by the rivulet known as Peritoró, which empties into the lower Itapicurú from the left at 3° 50', there once lived a tribe the Portuguese called "Barbados" on the false rumor that they were bearded. Probably they were the immediate neighbors of the Krẽyé of Bacabal and other Timbira groups of the lower Mearim; but several of their cultural traits—throwing spears (or darts?), huts with an upper story,[illegible] the lack of bow and arrow, the myth of man's origin from an ant heap—militate against Timbira affinity. Their language was never recorded. After long and serious fighting they concluded a treaty in 1726/27 and were settled in two aldeas on the lower Mearim. As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century they seem to have become extinct as a tribe, for neither Ribeiro nor Martius mentions them.

Now, the sparse data about these people furnished by Simão Estacio da Silveira, José de Moraes, and Candido Mendes de Almeida do contain a reference to log racing:[illegible]

> ... exercicios de trabalhos e experiencia de forças, como he carregar aos hombros de uma a outra parte pezadissimos troncos de palmeiras, e na mesma velocidade da carreira passarem-nos aos dos companheiros, com tal destreza, que embora offendam aos ouvidos com o desentoado de gritos, não deixam de agradar aos olhos com este seu jogo de barra, pela ligeireza aonde melhor experimentam as suas valentias.
>
> (... working exercise and trials of strength, such as carrying on their shoulders from one place to another extremely heavy palm trunks, which while at top-speed they shift to their companions with such dexterity that though they torture the ears by the cacophony of their shouting, they nevertheless rejoice the eye by this sport of theirs, because of the rapidity with which they best test their strength.)

This sounds as though excerpted from an eyewitness's account, possibly that of the first missionaries, the Jesuit Fathers Gabriel Malagrida and João Tavares. There is not the slightest reference to matrimony here.

One of the best and least exceptionable accounts of log races, I believe, is Jacob Rabbi's,[illegible] probably dating back to about 1634. It refers to the "Tapuya" tribe known as Otshukayana or Tarairyou, later called "Jandoins" by the Portuguese. They lived in the Rio Assú country, in the present state of Rio Grande do Norte,

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[illegible] Martius, Beiträge, 1:344.
[illegible] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 155, incorrectly translated sobrado as "platform bed."
[illegible] Moraes, Historia. 389.
[illegible] Piso and Marcgrav, Historiae, 280.

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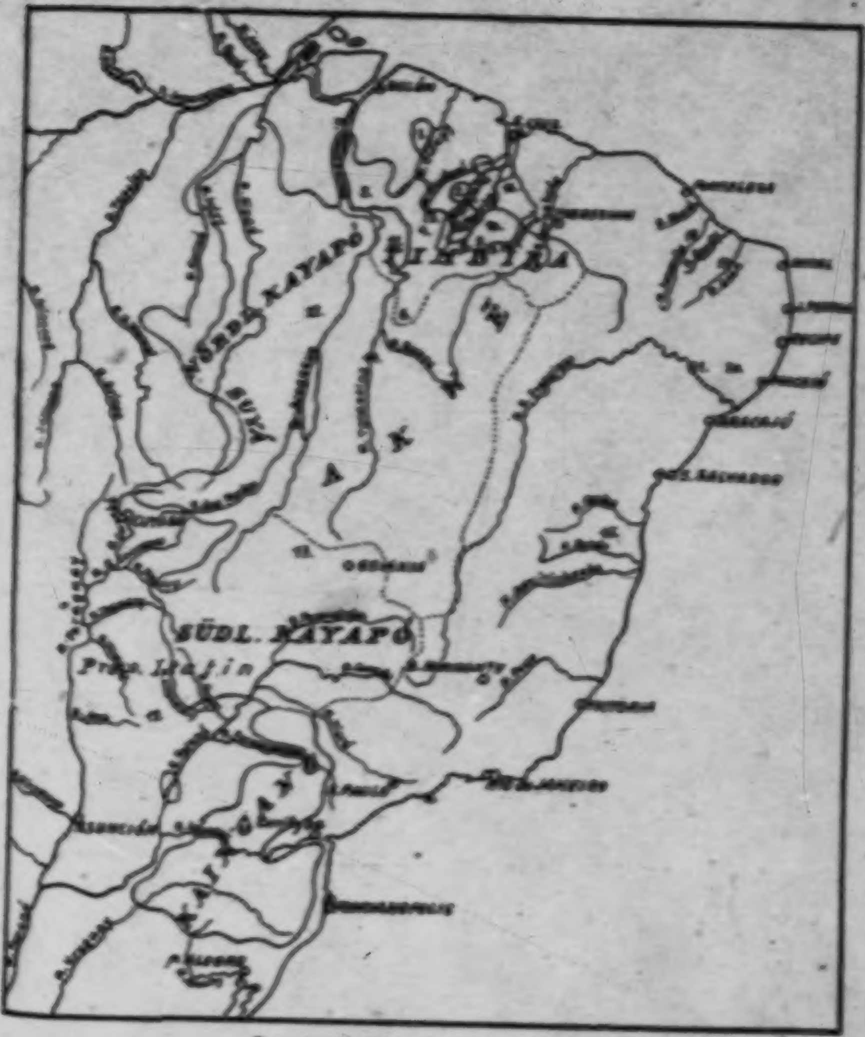
TIMBIRA
NÖRDL. KAYAPÓ
SUYÁ
SÜDL. KAYAPÓ

To accompany Curt Nimuendajú, "The Eastern Timbira," Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. & Ethn., Vol. 41.

[illegible]

[facing p. 144]

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526 and have been extinct since the eighteenth century. Contrary to Ehrenreich
191 Schuller[illegible] proved that they were not Gê; and I doubt likewise that they belonged
114 to the Kariri stock.

In shifting their encampment these people raced from the old site to the ne one. The two logs were laid on the ground a stone's throw from the chief's hut and at a distance of two paces from each other. The racers stepped up in two teams (*in duas turmas divisas*) and each team selected its strongest member to have the log placed on his neck, whereupon he dashed off with it, relieved by his fellows in the course of the race. The victors called the vanquished names and hissed at them. A crude sketch, hardly in harmony with the text, accompanied it.

In 1647 Roulox Baro started on his journey to the Otshukayana, whom he apparently met beyond the sources of the Potengy, and marched toward the coast with them. During his nearly three months' companionship he repeatedly witnessed log races: "*On courut l'arbre*" is a frequently recurring entry in his diary. A several weeks' racing season formed the prelude to a great festival, at which boys had their ears pierced, and marriageable youths their lower lips and cheeks. I am not quite clear whether the terminal ceremony actually involved a collective wedding of these young men. At all events, this eyewitness, too, does not represent the log race as a trial of marriageability. The chief Jandhuy, over a hundred years old, also took part. The two logs were extraordinarily long—22 ft.—and consisted of barked, smoothed tree trunks. Baro also reports a race from an old to a new camp site. The race opening the festive period assumed a remarkable form. Prior to the event the Indians had caught numerous rats (*Cavia persa?*) for the purpose and these were liberated to be pursued and killed by the log runners—by what means is not stated. Snethlage supposes that the logs were hurled at them, but throwing 6-m. long trunks after fleeing rats is not a likely procedure. Perhaps they were trampled to death.[illegible]

Barlaeus, whose statements do not rest on personal observations, strikes me as an untrustworthy source on many points relating to Indians. For instance, he tells how the Otshukayana go to their huts "sambt Weib, Kind, Knechten, Karrn und Wagen, darauf sie ihr Geräth führen." Plötz and Métraux interpret one passage to mean that the victorious log racers became war leaders; but "victorem cohortes sequuntur" may possibly mean no more than that the teams ran behind the champion. The German edition states: "Wer nun den andern zuvorthut, dem folgen alle beyde Hauffen, und begeben sich also miteinander auf den Weg."[illegible]

In any case, there can be no doubt that the Otshukayana log races, like those of the Timbira and Šerénte, represented a competitive sport between two teams.

Though the three oldest sources on the Otshukayana say nothing about any connection between log races and matrimony, Carrilho de Andrade some seventy years later discovered something of the sort. He writes of the Yandois, that is, Otshukayana, and the Pyacús, that is, Payacú, presumably as of 1699 or 1700. The Payacú, now extinct, spoke an unidentified language and lived in the present states of Rio Grande do Norte and Ceará, on the Rio Apody and west thereof as far as the Rio Choró. Perhaps they are identical with the Pajoke or the tribe whose chief during the Dutch period was Pajuku. Carrilho reports:

> Eyxercitão se desde mininos Em destreza, Efforsa, com o lutar; correr, saltar, Elevantand grandes pesos aos ombros, correm tres Equatro legoas sem descansar, Edesta sorte ganh premios que Entre Elles, os mayores, vem á ser moças fermosas por molheres.

[illegible] Ehrenreich, Ueber einige Bildnisse, chap. 4. Schuller, Affinität der Tapuya-Indianer.

[illegible] Baro, Relation du voyage, 220, 224. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 183.

[illegible] Barlaeus, Brasilianische Geschichte, 96, 686. *Idem.*, Rerum, 253. Plötz and Métraux, 279.

G 526 171 (They exercise themselves from boyhood on in agility and strength by wrestling, running, and leaping; and lifting heavy loads to their shoulders they run three or four miles without a rest, thereby winning prizes, the highest consisting of beautiful young girls for wives.)

114 Noteworthy is the reference to log races among the inhabitants of the province of Itatin by Techo, missionary in Paraguay from 1649–1680:

> Probaban su fuerza llevando en hombros un grueso madero, y el que antes llegaba á la meta recibía honores o premios; lo mismo cuenta Lipsio de los chilenos.

This author says of these Indians that they "en nada se diferenciaban de los [Guarani] del Paraná y Uruguay por lo que se refiere á idioma y costumbres." But by "provincia de Itatin" he understood the entire region between the Paraná and the Paraguay rivers, northward to the Rio Bututé (=Botetehu=Miranda), and the population of this area could not at the time have comprised solely Guaraní. As late as 1723 the Southern Kayapó extended to the Rio Nhanduhy. Either Techo has this tribe in mind, or the Guaraní of Itatin had borrowed log racing from these people, their northeastern neighbors. The reference to Lipsio and the Chileans is obscure. So far as I know, nothing comparable to log racing has been reported from them.

Finally, I heard among the linguistically isolated Fulnió (Carnijó) of Aguas Bellas, state of Pernambuco, an unclear tradition of an anciently practiced log race as a matrimonial test, the suitor running with one log under each arm.

Among the Indians of Brejo dos Padres, near Jatobá, in southern Pernambuco, Estevão de Oliveira heard a significant origin myth, which he has orally communicated to me. According to this tradition, the natives practiced log racing in order to be able, if necessary, to drag along a wife when fleeing, the logs having been of comparable weight. Nothing further could be extracted from the Indians, who comprise four tribes united at the above-mentioned mission. One tribe, the Pancararú, had previously lived at Santo Antonio da Gloria, on the right bank of the São Francisco, and in the eighteenth century somewhat farther upstream on the islands of that river. The others were the Geripancó, Macarú and Quaqá. The sparse word list still obtainable indicated elements of at least three distinct languages: (1) an entirely isolated tongue; (2) the likewise isolated speech of the Fulnió; (3) a Tupí dialect resembling Guaraní. It was not possible to ascertain which of the above-mentioned tribes corresponded to which languages. Culturally there was no more intimation of Gê affinity than there was linguistically.

G T 526 174 As stated, I have several times observed miniature logs (pąrare) here, which were characterized as to sex by their decoration and wax breasts. This suggests the possibility that the logs may here, too, have originally represented human beings whom it was a moral obligation to bring into safety when pursued or attacked by the enemy. Pohl says that when a Pôrekamekra fell or was wounded in battle his comrades made every effort to carry him along, for it was reckoned most disgraceful to be captured by the enemy dead or alive.

A glance at map 3 shows that log racing is characteristic of the Gê and was only rarely diffused to neighboring aliens.

T 481 *Other races.*—The speed of running Timbira has always aroused the admiration of observers. It is an ascertained fact that they have often overtaken mounted men. The two murderers of chief Major Tito fled on horseback, but were pursued and

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Carvalho de Andrade, Memoria, 136.

Techo, Historia, 4:214.

Pires de Campos, Breve noticia, 437.

Estevão de Oliveira, O ossuario da "Gruta do Padre."

Pohl, *Reise*, 2:209.

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overtaken by the Krahó', who killed one of them from ambush, while the other fled. One can hardly assume that he spared his horse, but the Krahó' once more caught up and killed him also.

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TABLE
DISTRIBUTION OF LOG RACING

Tribe	Sources	Ascertained (A) or observed (O)	Date	Character
1. Timbira of Araparytíua...	Nimuendajú	A	1913	Competitive sport
2. Kre' pu'mkateye..........	Snethlage	A	1924	Matrimonial trial
	Nimuendajú	A	1929	Competitive sport
3. Pukóbye	Nimuendajú	A	1929	Competitive sport
4. Krîkatí	Nimuendajú	A	1929	Competitive sport
5. W. Gavião	....	A	1931	?
6. Krahó'	Snethlage	A	1925	Matrimonial trial
	Nimuendajú	O	1930	Competitive sport
7. Pôrekamekra	Pohl	A	1819	"Log dance"
8. Apą'nyekra	Nimuendajú	A	1929	Sport
	Pompeu Sobrinho	A	1929	Matrimonial trial
9. Ramkô'kamekra	Snethlage	O	1924	Matrimonial trial
	Frôes Abreu	A	1928	Trial of strength
	Pompeu Sobrinho	A	1929	Matrimonial trial
	Nimuendajú	O	1929–36	Sport
10. Ca'kamekra	Nimuendajú	A	1930	Sport
11. Apinayé...............	Snethlage	O	1926	Matrimonial trial
	Estevão de Oliveira	A	1930	Trial of strength
	Nimuendajú	O	1928–37	Sport
12. N. Kayapó	Kissenberth	O ?	1909	"Log dance"
13. S. Kayapó	Silva e Souza	A ?	1812	Trial of strength
	Pohl	A ?	1819	"Log dance" at feast of dead
14. Šerente and Šavante.....	Spix and Martius	A	1820	Matrimonial trial
	Tuggia	O	1852	Sport
	Vianna	A	1902?	Matrimonial trial
	Nimuendajú	O	1930, 1937	Sport
15. Kamakan	Wied-Neuwied	A ?	1817	Trial of strength
	Spix and Martius	A	1820	Suitors' competitive trial
	Martius	A	1830	"Gymnastics"
	Douville	O ?	1833	Matrimonial trial
16. Barbados..............	Moraes	O ?	1727?	Sport
17. Otshukayana...........	Rabbi (in Piso and Marcgrave)	O	1633?	Sport
	Baro	O	1647	Sport
	Barlaeus	A	1647	Sport
	Carvalho de Andrade	A ?	1696	Sport with women as prize
18. Pyaou (Payacú)	Carvalho de Andrade	A ?	1696	Sport with women as prize
19. Prov. Itatín	Techo	A	1673	Trial of strength
20. Fulnió	Nimuendajú	A	1934	Matrimonial trial
21. Brejo dos Padres Indians.	Estevão de Oliveira	A	1937	Strength exercise

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The Ramkô'kamekra race in pairs (kume'kukré; or, kąkaipôa = straight across the plaza) and in relays (aipenrį').

The former variety is confined to males. Starting in front of the vų'tų' house of the age-class moiety challenged, they run across the plaza to the challengers' vų'tų' house, the distance covered being thus about three hundred meters. Both teams assemble, one member of each steps forward, both press their hands against their knees, and dash off at the signal cry of the man superintending the match. Until they have reached the goal, this manager continues to utter prolonged cries to urge them on.

526 In the new village on the Riacho Raposa, because of the slope of the track, all hakaipéa without exception start from the eastern vų'tų' house.

Relay races proceed around the boulevard, which is nearly one kilometer in length and is traversed four or five times. The teams distribute their members in the appropriate lane along the course. This type of race also starts at the challenged team's vų'tų' house and always proceeds invariably toward the right side. The runner carries a wand (alkrõ're)—usually an arrow—which he passes on to the next member of his team; from the Pųkõbye I obtained a pair of pretty wooden race wands tasseled at the tip. The older girls and the women also practice relay racing, though not nearly so often as the young men. Foremost among the Ramkó'kamekra is a girl barely thirteen years old named Kopkrã. Once she ran three times round the boulevard without once passing on her wand, yet remaining far ahead of the racers of the opposing team.

Archery.—I have never seen competitive target practice; but there are two other games with bow and arrow, krãatak and watotš'k.

The former is rather a boys' game than one for adults. On as level a course as possible the competitors shoot off their arrows so that they glide along the ground. Whoever shoots his arrow farthest wins all the other players' arrows. Little boys indulge in this pastime on any road, youths on the radial path of their vų'tų' house.

In watotš'k an obstacle is erected about four meters away from the archer, who shoots his arrow at it with full force, so that it rebounds, rising in a curved trajectory, and lands far away. In this game, too, the player who makes his missile go farthest wins the arrows overtaken. The obstacle is either a bundle of palm leaves or a small mound. In the great ricochet shooting contest of the pepkahą'k (p. 219) a wooden lath was attached on top of the mound by means of two staves piercing it. In 1936 the close of tepyarkwã was followed by a contest of this order, with an obstacle formed of a horizontal cord stretched between two poles. The players ardently and uninterruptedly indulged in the game all morning so that, notwithstanding the cord wrapped around for a wristguard, several of them had blood dripping from the left wrist, as well as from the index and middle fingers, between which the arrow is released.

Sham fights.—A rather dangerous game, which figures in the Kre'pų'mkateye myth of the sun and the moon, was confined to experienced warriors, one of whom would challenge his fellows to shoot at him with sharp arrows. He would win all the arrows that missed him. I saw something of the sort only on two special occasions.

In the first case the councilors had decided on awarding a ceremonial lance
527 (pl. 31) to one Nyũhĩ in recognition of his retaining the memory of many old chants
[383] forgotten by the others. The bestowal took the following form: At the time of the morning bath the men of the eastern age-class moiety assembled at the village spring, armed with clubs and three of them with ceremonial lances, krowãdwa. At the same time the members of the complementary moiety, to which Nyũhĩ belonged, met in the plaza, armed with arrows topped with grass balls. When the eastern group appeared and halted at the northern entrance to the village, the westerners began to dance, defiantly brandishing their weapons. Three times the two factions advanced toward each other and retreated. Suddenly from among the eastern group there darted a warrior decorated with black paint—the celebrated racer Čų're, who was carrying a handsomely feathered ceremonial lance. At once the opposing group began to shoot at him, but he ran right into their midst, dexterously eluding their arrows by zigzag leaps so that but a single one so much as lightly grazed him. The easterners now also proceeded toward the plaza, where the two

527 moieties ranged themselves in two facing lines from north to south. Thus they wer singing, first to the west, then to the east, and finally again westward, whereup they broke up. Cą're handed the lance to Nyßâi, who painted himself red, the sang and danced all morning and part of the afternoon with the lance on all th radial paths from the plaza to the houses and back (cf. the solo dance, p. 139).

527 554 The second occasion was the award of a lance in 1936, at the close of tepyarkw to the leader of the Clowns "because he had proved nimble and merry, was a goo singer, and did everything as ordered by the elders. The arara tail feathers th decorated this lance—nowadays one of the greatest valuables in this tribe—had a long previous history. At the ketúaye of 1934 they had served to adorn the me-kyê'tis' occiputs. After the terminal ceremony the councilors had a hąkyará decoration made thereof, an article that goes round the forehead, falling down the back This they awarded to one Hakę', whose rapid intelligence and ability as precent during the initiation festival had aroused their approbation. (See pl. 28, *a*.) Fo two years he danced and sang with this decoration, then made a present of it t the Fish Otters at tepyarkwá (p. 229), and they made it into feathers for th nape of the neck. After the close of this festival the councilors had a ceremoni lance decorated with this ornament and for the reason given above bestowed th emblem on Pačét, leader of the Clowns.

Another sham fight took place during preparations for the above-mentioned bi ricochet shooting after tepyarkwá. The council had sent the junior of the tw eastern age classes to the Sęrro do Alpercatas in order to fetch a great quantit of the arrow cane that grows there. On their return three days later they campe at some distance from the village, each making half a dozen arrows for himsel The next morning they marched to the village, where the junior western cla armed with throwing sticks, was expecting them in the plaza. The easterners distributed their membership over three radial paths. Suddenly the two parti shouted and rushed toward each other till they were about fifty meters apart. Th westerners began hurling their sticks, while their opponents discharged arrow with blunt heads. Nevertheless a westerner was wounded in one foot.

526 *Wrestling.*—Pohl describes a wrestling scene connected with a declaration o war (see below). Kissenberth says the extinct Kénkateye-Canella were passionatel devoted to this sport, but Snethlage recognized its subordinate role among th Rąmkô'kamekra, where he saw only youths engaged in wrestling.[illegible] I witnessed suc contests only on the part of the novices graduating from pepyé, after their seclusion proper was ended, when they were camped in the woods near the village; an here, too, it was a matter of mere play.

526 The following tale was heard.

539 Down by the brook, but in a little frequented spot somewhat above the general water suppl there were seated a dozen young girls and women. By chance one Kenkré, a lad of eightee or nineteen, happened to walk along and was about to pass by, for it is not advisable to intrud on a bevy of lasses when they want to be by themselves. But they barred his path, saying, "Yo have the reputation of being a strong lad, Kenkré; well, then wrestle with us." He did s throwing one after another, but after a dozen of these combats he grew tired and began t lose. However, the girls continued to challenge him till he was utterly exhausted. Then th chased him away.

Girl wrestlers seem to have a noteworthy knack of flattening an opponent's backbone with a jab.

524 *Stilts.*—Contrary to Apinayé usage,[illegible] only the boys of this tribe walk on stil-

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[illegible] Pohl, Reise, 2:206. Kissenberth, Araguaya-Reise, 41. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 162.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 117.

524 and they only rarely. The stilts are of burity leaf-stems and stepped so that the feet are at most 40 cm. above the ground. The part above the footrest is tied to the outside of the lower leg.

Cat's cradle.—Both young girls and young men make string figures, but those really conversant with cat's cradle are relatively few in number. I noticed ten distinct figures.

Dances.—The dances described above (p. 114 ff.) are the only social games of these Indians.

WAR AND PEACE

648 186 181 *Relations with outsiders.*—The Eastern Timbira are not nearly so amiable and peaceable toward outsiders as are the Apinayé. The highest goal of their social organization seems to have been to preclude any breach of internal peace, so that intratribally theft is rare and murder almost unknown; but in former times such conduct was apparently permitted toward aliens—a probable correlate of their greater or lesser hostility toward virtually all neighboring tribes. Traces of this ancient attitude may occasionally be observed even today with reference to Neobrazilian neighbors, especially among the Kríkatí and Pųkóbye. On the other hand, the mutual relations of the several tribes, though still far removed from a sense of national solidarity, have unquestionably improved. The point is simply that the native tribes no longer inspire one another with fear, while the latent animosity between Indians and Neobrazilians has remained uniform during the last hundred years or so.

175 648 At all events the Krahó' until 1809, the Rąmkó'kamekra until 1814, the Kríkatí and Pųkóbye for about two decades after that, were all living in incessant feuds with both aboriginal and Neobrazilian neighbors.

721 Por qualquer ciume sobre limites de terras, sobre as caças, ou sobre os fructos de uma arvore, tornando-se implacaveis inimigos, fazem-se carnagens tão horrorosas, que chegam a destruir-se inteiramente.

(Through some jealousies over territorial boundaries, over hunting or the fruits of some tree, they become incurable enemies and execute such horrible massacres as completely to destroy one another.)[illegible]

In the chapters dealing with conquest, colonization, and the history of the several tribes I have brought together details concerning these feuds (pp. 4 ff., 13 f.).

As for the Rąmkó'kamekra specifically, their relations with neighboring groups were as follows:

648 721 [186] The Guajajára to the northwest are recognized as ancient enemies, though details as to former wars were no longer ascertainable. Possibly this animosity failed to assume extreme forms because the Rąmkó'kamekra had no hankering for the forested territory of the Guajajára. These in turn never ventured out into the steppes, dreading and abhorring the Rąmkó'kamekra and indeed all the Timbira, who requited the sentiment with contempt. As late as 1901, during the Guajajára uprising, this opposition expressed itself in the readiness, not to say zeal, with which the Rąmkó'kamekra and the Kre'pų'mkateye marched against the insurgents. As previously noted, competition for the supply of arrow cane in the north at the Cachoeira da Canna Braba of the Mearim led to occasional feuds between the Rąmkó'kamekra and the Kréyé of Bacabal. According to Ribeiro, the Čą'kamekra to the northeast were bitter enemies until 1814, when they inflicted upon our tribe a defeat that drove it into the arms of the Neobrazilians. Later the two groups made peace and finally fused. The Gamella of Codó, farther northeastward, who were not

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[illegible] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 8.

648 721 Timbira, remained hostile until their extinction, to which the Rąmkô'kámekra contributed their share.[illegible] The southern frontier witnessed fights with the Neobrazilians, whose predecessors in that region are unknown. The Apą'nyekra to the west was not precisely hostile, but neither was there true friendship between these two Canella tribes, who in fact have not yet achieved that relationship.

175 *Bravery.*—Ribeiro, familiar with Timbira warfare through long years of personal experience, unreservedly bears witness to the great bravery of these Indians:

> 703 726 Fora-lhes algum tempo horrorosas as nossas armas de fogo, porem familiarisados com tudo que nos diz respeito, até sabem que sem a bala ou chumbo, a mesma polvora não vale contra elles: e é isto tanto assim, que quando sentem haver semelhante falta, avançam destimidos para tiral-as das mãos aos soldados, o que tem muitas vezes acontecido. De braço a braço poucos homens apparecem que possam medir com elles a valentia; as mesmas indias não degeneram em robustez, e já observamos uma que vindo prisioneira, quiz fugir levando debaixo do braço a sua sentinella, e o faria se não lhe tivessem acudido; era ella de bôa altura e tanto bem proporcionada que lhe chamavam nossos soldados a Lazan grande.
>
> (Formerly our firearms inspired them with fear; but today, when they are familiar with everything concerning us, they even know that powder is impotent without bullets and shot, so that as soon as they note such deficiency they fearlessly advance, in order to snatch them [the weapons] out of the soldiers' hands, as has frequently happened. Man to man, there seem to be few men able to vie with them in point of bravery. Even the women are not inferior in robustness and we have seen one such brought in as a captive who tried to escape by dragging along her guard under her arm and would have succeeded if he had not received aid. She was of goodly stature and so well built that our soldiers dubbed her "the big sorrel mare.")[illegible]

And again:

> Ha entre elles homens muito valorosos! Nos observamos em 1801 a coragem com que um gentio Capiekrans defendeu a sua liberdade contra doze soldados, que o surprehenderam quasi sem armas, e primeiro tiveram estes a crueldade de fazel-o em pedaços do que a gloria de prendel-o. Em 1807 observamos tambem a animosidade de um dos Timbiras das matas, que sahindo de certa emboscada ao meio de mais de cem homens nossos, que se distrahiam em differentes trabalhos, na occasião em que se estabelecera o arrayal do Principe Regente, matou um delles, espancou outros, e retirou-se airosamente antes de poder ser ofendido.
>
> (There are very brave men among them! In 1801 we observed the courage with which a Capiekrans [= Rąmkô'kámekra] Indian defended his liberty against twelve soldiers who had surprised him almost unarmed and had rather the satisfaction of cruelly cutting him to pieces than the glory of capturing him. In 1807 we also observed the audacity of a Forest Timbira [= Cą'kamekra], who dashed from some ambush into the midst of over a hundred of our people employed with sundry tasks at the founding of the Arrayal do Principe Regente; he killed one man, attacked several others and dexterously withdrew before he could be made to suffer any injury.)[illegible]

181 185 177 At present the Timbira, weakened by defeat and disease, know that the overwhelming majority of their civilized neighbors are merely waiting for a pretext to pose as defenseless victims of Indian savagery, demanding corresponding coercive measures by officials and the government, or even to resort to such on their own initiative. Hence an Indian hesitates for a long time before reacting to Neobrazilian insults and threats, thus acquiring a character for "cowardice." But even nowadays the camel's back will break: not many years ago, in the presence of half a dozen people in front of a *fazenda*, the Rąmkô'kámekra Wakìi shot down a Neobrazilian with an arrow, when the man continued for a long time to vituperate the at first unresisting Indian and threaten him with death.

725 *Tactics.*—Against Neobrazilians the Timbira presumably applied surprise attacks from ambush, but against their own kind they were by no means afraid of open

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Gamella, 8.

[illegible] Memoria, § 10.

[illegible] *Ibid.*, § 22.

warfare. For Pohl's benefit the Pôrekamekra performed a sham battle, which he has graphically described for us:

> Es erschien nämlich zuerst ein Abgesandter des als feindlich angenommenen Volksstammes. Ein rüstiger Mann aber gänzlich unbewaffnet. Dieser sprang bis vor den Aufenthalt der Indianer und erklärte ihnen den Krieg unter heftigem Geschrey und mit weit auseinandergestreckten Füßen. Ihm trat ein Abgeordneter des diesseitigen Stammes entgegen, nahte sich ihm bis auf Körper-Distanz und stellte sich so an seine Seite, daß beyde mit weit ausgestreckten Füßen und Händen, ganz gebeugt, nicht unähnlich römischen Ringern, sich entgegen standen. Nun hielten sie unter heftigen Bewegungen einen schnellen, sehr aufgeregten Wortwechsel. Es ward die Veranlassung des Krieges erörtert, pliciert und dupliciert, und dabey trachteten beyde sich zu fassen und zu Boden zu werfen. Bei diesem Wettkampf blieb indessen stets der kriegserklärende Indianer Sieger. Es erschien darauf noch ein zweiter Abgesandter, welchem noch ein dritter, vierter und fünfter folgte. Als die Unterredungen dieser Abgesandten aus durchaus zu keinem friedlichen Resultat führten, so sprang der Abgesandte unserer Indianer wieder in den Wald zurück, und es ward nun Zeichen zum Aufbruch gegeben. Hörnerschall erklang, nach allen Seiten heulten die dumpfen Töne, der Lärm war wirklich gräßlich und ein solches Aufbrechen muß wahrhaft schauerlich seyn wenn es blutigen Ernst gilt. Nun erschienen die Kriegesschaaren unserer Indianer. In feierlichem, gemessenem Schritte zogen sie aus dem Wald hervor; jeder trug seinen langen Bogen in der einen, das Kürbishorn in der andern Hand; auf den Schultern trugen sie einen Bündel Pfeile aus Bambusrohr mit Rohrspitzen von Canna brava, welches häufig am Araguay wächst, oder mit Widerhaken, manche auch mit gespitzten Knochen geschärft. Einige führten auch Keulen von hartem Holz, etwa anderthalb Ellen lang; mit dieser Waffe zerschmettern sie den Feinden die Köpfe oder gebrauchen sie auch als Schleuderwaffe, wo sie denn durch ihr Gewicht und den kräftigen Wurf auch tödtlich ausfällt. Jedem Familienvater folgten Weiber und Kinder; diese trugen alle ihre Habseligkeiten welche wie oben berichtet, nicht sehr zahlreich sind.—Alle lagerten sich in ihren Hütten oder in dem bereits erwähnten offenen Schuppen an dem grossen Platz der Aldeia. Eine zweite Abteilung, welche die Feinde vorstellte, drang nun aus dem entgegengesetzten Ende des Waldes hervor; reihenweise, doch nicht geschlossen. Bald darauf machten sie Halt. Beide Teile hatten sich die Gesichter geschwärzt und am Leib verschiedentlich bemalt um ihr Ansehen recht schreckenerregend und martialisch zu machen. Die Angegriffenen gewahrten kaum ihre Feinde als sie mit unglaublicher Schnelligkeit sich aufrafften und ihnen entgegen eilten. Es wurden nun die Pfeile abgeschossen, wobey sie ihnen sehr gewandt die Richtung zu geben wußten, daß sie unverletzend über ihre Köpfe weg flogen. Dieses Abschießen geschah in steter unruhiger Bewegung. Der Körper wankte hin und her, sie liefen bald vorwärts, bald rückwärts; vermutlich geschieht dies um den Pfeilen auszuweichen, und sie selbst sind von Jugend auf so an diese Beweglichkeit gewöhnt, daß es ihnen unmöglich ist, in ruhiger Stellung einen Pfeil abzuschießen. Dennoch trifft man aber sehr gute Schützen unter ihnen, welche ihr Ziel selten oder nie verfehlen. Nach jedem Schusse wird in das Horn gestoßen und ein lautes Geschrey erhoben. Die alten Indianer, die Weiber und Kinder stimmen nach Kräften in dieses Geschrey ein. Dies geschieht um ihnen Muth anzufeuern. Die Weiber standen im Kampf meist hinter ihren Männern, einen Bündel Pfeile haltend so daß der kämpfende Mann nur über die Achsel zu langen braucht um einen neuen Pfeil zu erhalten. Das furchtbarste an der Sache ist der gräßliche, fremdartige Lärm, der auch auf die Portugiesen, wenn sie zum ersten Mal gegen die Indianer in den Kampf gehen, seinen Eindruck nicht verfehlt.—Öfters liefen einzelne Indianer bis dicht an mich heran und schnellten ihren Pfeil mir über den Kopf ab. Es kam nun zum Handgemenge, die Keulen flogen nach allen Seiten, und trotz aller Vorsicht und Gewandtheit lief dieser Teil des Scheingefechtes nicht ohne blutige Köpfe und Wunden ab. Man faßte sich, rang, schleuderte sich zu Boden, und die Hitze des Kampfes riß sie so weit fort, daß sie beynahe vergessen hätten, die Sache sey nur Spiel, und bald Ernst aus dem Scherze geworden wäre. Der Capitão, welcher den Gang des Spieles beobachtete und seine Leute kannte, gebot Ruhe, und so endete das Kampfspiel, welches in seiner blutigen Wirklichkeit gewöhnlich mit der Zerstörung der ganzen Aldeia schließt. Dann werden die Hütten in Brand gesteckt, wozu sie sich glühender Kohlen an den Pfeilspitzen bedienen. Der besiegte Stamm, das heißt jener, von welchem die meisten erschlagen worden sind, bittet den Sieger um Frieden, welcher unter gewissen Bedingungen eingegangen wird, wobey die Ältesten der Indianer zu Rathe gezogen werden. Selten doch ist solcher Frieden von langer Dauer, die kleinste Veranlassung, einige streitige Palmfrüchte oder dergleichen, dient als Vorwand zur Erneuerung der Feindseligkeiten. Wenn ein Indianer im Kampf fällt oder verwundet wird, so strengen sich die alten Indianer und Weiber auf das

725 Anfassen an, ihn fortzubringen, weil es für eine besondere Schmach gehalten wird, lebend oder tot in die Hände der Feinde zu gerathen.

After every shot the Rąmkó'kamekra are accustomed to give their buttocks a resounding smack with the palms of their hands and to utter piercing, quavering cries while slapping their lips in rapid succession. The "glowing embers" at the tip of the incendiary arrow generally consist of a kerneled maize cob; in its flight the resistance of the air produces a blaze.

726 In fighting Neobrazilians the Timbira attacked either single individuals or an estate, immediately withdrawing after the first clash. Nevertheless, panic preceded
177 them, as witnessed by Ribeiro:

> …pois temos observado em repetidas occasiões que á primeira voz que se ouve no sertão como dizendo:—'Ahi vem gentios, são muitos, já invadiram tal fazenda, mataram tantas pessoas, não ha quem possa resistir-lhe'—não se averigua mais nada, transmittem os habitantes seu terror uns aos outros, largam os fazendeiros suas fazendas sem saber a quem, e por toda parte fogem como carneiros sem saber de que.
>
> (…for we have repeatedly observed that with the first cry uttered in the sertão that "Indians are coming, there are so many, they have already attacked such and such a fazenda and killed so many persons, no one can resist them," people do not investigate further, but one settler imparts his alarm to the next, the fazendeiros surrendering their fazendas without knowing to whom and fleeing like sheep without knowing from what.)

725 Against the bandeiras the Indians sought refuge in the steep mesas scattered throughout Timbira territory. That it was sometimes inadvisable to pursue them is
177 proved by the destruction of Manoel José de Assumpção's bandeira at the Serra da Desordem by the Pųkóbye in 1814. The Timbira also applied to warfare their hunting technique of the surround with firing of the grass, as demonstrated by the case of Manoel Lopes' bandeira, which was almost destroyed by a fire in a dry bamboo thicket.

727 The Rąmkó'kamekra took no prisoners, but indiscriminately knocked down opponents with their clubs. They neither mutilated corpses nor took home any part of the body as a trophy. According to Ribeiro, however, the Pųkóbye in 1814 captured a girl alive at the destruction of Porto da Chapada (=Grajahú); and in 1808 the Čą'kamekra are reported to have taken along the ears of a boy killed near Principe Regente.

266 The Čą'kamekra have been accused of anthropophagy but probably only to facilitate application to them of the special laws against cannibals decreed by the Portuguese government. Ribeiro explains the origin of the report:

> The Čą'kamekra had forced a bandeira of two hundred men to retreat and had killed the leader, Eugenio Antonio, whom his followers buried on the spot. Another bandeira of two hundred men headed by Manuel Lopes attempted to avenge the defeat in the following year, but with no more success. When they got to Antonio's grave, the bones were found to have been disinterred, scattered, and charred "as though the attached flesh had been roasted and even with traces of gnawing."

But Ribeiro himself states that this does not prove Čą'kamekra cannibalism.

701 *Organization.*—The raids of the Rąmkó'kamekra were executed either by all warriors on the councilors' decision or by single individuals on their own responsibility. Youths figured as "warriors" (pep) from the close of their initiation to the close of the next younger age-class's initiation, that is, for about ten years. The age-class leaders directly headed the warriors, but the real command was vested in

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Pohl, Reise, 2:206.

Memoria, § 74.

Ribeiro, Memoria, § 73.

Ibid., § 38.

Ibid., § 37.

701 a war chief, haprą̈re, specially chosen by the council from among the experienced braves, several of whom usually accompanied the expedition and without whose advice the age-class leaders would not take any steps.

727 By way of avenging a kinsman's death a single man might lie in ambush near the enemy's paths and water supply; or maternal uncle and nephew would unite in this
604 way.

According to a Rąmkō'kamekra tradition a woman whose son had gained a warrior's status sent him out to fetch the skeletal remains of her brother, whom the Neobrazilians had killed near a settlement. She gave an exact description of the site, which was at the foot of a big tree, in the center of a little wooded island by the headwaters of a certain brook. The youth set out alone and found the bones at the spot indicated. He collected them, packed them up, and carried them to a mountain halfway from his home. There he laid them down, as well as his provender and everything he was able to spare, then he once more went back to the settlement, carrying only his weapons. Here he lay in ambush not far from the houses, near a road with many footprints. He waited for a long time, then two men with rifles came past, whom he followed. After a while one of them lingered behind to ease himself, and the youth utilized this opportunity to lay him low with a club. The companion heard the noise, turned back, and cocked the trigger when he caught sight of the Indian, but before he could shoot the young man had killed him too. Then he picked up the rifles and fled, for the inmates of the houses had taken cognizance of the incident and immediately gave pursuit. He ran all day, but his pursuers would not give up, so that at last his strength was exhausted. With a final exertion he climbed the mountain where he had left his uncle's bones. He was unable to move farther and prepared to fight. From his height he saw his pursuers arriving at the foot of the cliff, but they were even more fatigued than himself, hence unable to ascend the mountain. Accordingly, after a rest they turned back. The warrior recovered the bag with the remains, also his baggage, and returned to his village, where he put down the two rifles in the plaza before the chiefs and elders. The trigger of one of them was still cocked, for at that time these Indians did not yet understand how to release it.

411 *Weapons.*—The principal weapon was the club, that is, especially the two-edged
171 sword club (pl. 8), which terminates in a hefty, long point so that it serves equally for thrusting and striking. Sometimes it was also thrown short distances, as stated by Pohl for the Pōrekamekra. The Rąmkō'kamekra had special throwing clubs with a head set off from the rest of the weapon in the form of a short cylinder.

A few remarks may be offered as to the anchor ax, kų'ire (Pųkóbye: kų'hire; Kre'pų'mkateye: kąyé). According to Pohl, the Pōrekamekra used it both as a badge of office and a weapon:

> Als Abzeichen ihrer Würde tragen der Kapitão und dessen Unterführer ein eigen geformtes Beil aus Granit unter den Achseln. Dieses Beil, halbmondförmig geschliffen, 7 Zoll lang, ist an einem kurzen Stiel von 10 Zoll Länge befestigt, von welchem rotgefärbte Baumwollschnüre herabhängen. An beyden Enden dieses Stieles ist ein dünnes Band befestigt, vermöge welchem das Beil auf der Achsel festgehalten wird. Es gelang mir nur mit vieler Mühe durch Vermittlung Carvalhos und gegen Erstattung eines Gegengeschenkes, aus mehreren Messern bestehend, ein solches Beil zu erhalten. Sie gaben sie sehr ungern weg, da ihre Verfertigung sehr mühsam ist. Im Kriege wissen sie dieses Beil mit besonderer Gewandtheit zu führen und es hat die Bestimmung, vorzugsweise den Feinden die Köpfe zu spalten.

Among the Eastern Timbira the anchor ax is—at least nowadays—far rarer than among the Apinayé, whose small ceremonial form is wholly lacking. I have seen only a specimen apiece among the Rąmkō'kamekra and the Apą'nyekra and have re-

411 ceived a blade as a surface find from Krikatí territory. Several Western Gavião
171 specimens have been published; still another, reputedly Krahô', departs so widely from all other Timbira equivalents in its decoration that I am inclined to doubt the provenience assigned to it.[illegible]

In my day the anchor axe did not linger even in ceremonial usage. I obtained my Ramkô'kamekra sample from an aged Indian woman reckoned my "aunt," but who was nevertheless censured by her other relatives for giving it to me. She had had it in custody since the death of its last owner, her brother Krępęp'n. Of an afternoon or evening he was said to have occasionally held it in the plaza while singing "Yo heyó kąire yóó!," as well as the names of his ancestors. He had obtained the weapon from his uncle, Mayapíri, a great warrior who is supposed to have used it in actual combat.

727 *Slayer's seclusion.*—The slayer of an enemy is called hukanę'ra (perseverer;
783 aukanę', persevere, imperative), or hąprė' (brave one). Directly after the killing he paints himself with charcoal and draws a broad red stripe across his mouth. As soon as he gets back to the village he goes into a month's retreat, during which period he sits on a special little platform bed and may neither laugh nor wash himself. His sustenance is restricted to roasted maize. At the close of his seclusion his mother or sister prepares manioc paste and his maternal uncle goes hunting, the flesh of the game killed providing material for three meat pies nearly a meter in diameter. The killer takes a bath and is decorated with falcon down. After the usual afternoon log race a youth brings firewood to the plaza and kindles a fire, near which the men, led by a precentor, sing the same song characteristic of the hākrowatiyó ceremony of the pepyé initiation (p. 186 f.). The decorated slayer steps among them and shouts a statement about his exploit. Before sunset the solemnity is over.

On the following morning the three pies are deposited on the boulevard in front of the slayer's maternal home. Admonished by the elders seated in the plaza to go through the whole procedure in proper fashion, the killer slowly advances toward the pies. Making the sign of a deer with the index and middle fingers of his uplifted hands, he imitates the snort of a shy deer. Thus he leaps over the food and proceeds toward the councilors, to whom he presents himself. These then have the pies fetched and divide them up among themselves.

648 *Treaties and alliances.*—Formal treaties and alliances occurred both between
175 Timbira groups and between such and Neobrazilians. To be sure, Ribeiro, supported in this by Pohl, expresses a very derogatory opinion as to the value of such agree-
728 ments:

> Sua inclinação para o roubo estranho é por tal forma excessiva que rompe toda a alliança logo que possam furtar uns poucos de pregos velhos.
>
> (Their inclination to rob outsiders is so extreme that they break any treaty as soon as they have a chance to steal a few old nails.)[illegible]

However, Ribeiro himself describes several instances in which a solemnly concluded pact was ruptured on trifling pretexts not by the Indians, but by the Neobrazilians. In 1815 he witnessed the entrance of from five to six hundred Põrekamekra into São Pedro de Alcantara in order to make peace:

> . . . ás sete horas da manhã, entrarão desarmados na povoação formando cada sexo uma columna que marchavam parallelas entre si, e á testa delles vinha o seu chefe maioral chamado Cocrit, homem com 80 annos de edade, muito respeitado entre os seus, e de uma conducta tal, nesta administração que não parecia um barbaro selvagem. . . . Traziam elles todos uns ramos verdes nas mãos,

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 69 f., 126–129; Rydén, Brazilian Anchor Axes, figs. 3 E, 6 C, 6 F; Simões da Silva, Machado crescente.

[illegible] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 30. Pohl, supra.

648 signal caracteristico da paz, e ellas os braços encruzados; cantavam alternadamente, e não com aquella algazarra que é propria dos seus divertimentos; mas davam por alguma forma a conhecer,
175 no mostrado dos seus semblantes, a incerteza que tinham da sinceridade dos homens que vinham a communicar."

728 (... at 7 o'clock in the morning they marched into the place unarmed, each lineage forming a column marching parallel to the others, and headed by their paramount chief Coarit, a man of fifty, highly esteemed by his people and of such conduct in office that he did not seem to be a savage at all. ... All the men were carrying green twigs in their hands, the characteristic emblem of peace, and the women had their arms crossed. They sang alternately and not with so much noise as distinguishes their amusements. However, the alarm in their facial expression indicated their uncertainty as to the trustworthiness of the men with whom they sought an understanding.)[illegible]

Here is the fate of these same Pŭrekamekra according to Ribeiro after they had settled near the spot two months later:

> O chefe Coarit foi injustamente deposto, e retido como prisioneiro no lugar, e sobre os demais imperou por tal forma a tyrannia dos hospedantes que fez confundir uma parte com os selvagens Macamekrans, e fugir o resto em desesperação.
>
> (The chief Coarit was unjustly deposed and kept prisoner in the village, and the rest were so burdened by the arbitrary domination of their hosts that part of them fused with the wild Macamekrans (= Krahô') and the rest fled in despair.)

There are certainly Timbira tribes who have during the last century lived in unity with others, viz. the Krĩkatí and Pųkõbye; the Apą'nyekra and Krahô'; the Krẽyé of Bacabal and the Kukóekamekra. Further, some of the tribes never broke the treaties made with Neobrasilians, for example, the Apą'nyekra, the Timbira of Araparytíua, the Krẽyé and Kukóekamekra of Bacabal, and the Kre'pų'mkateye. Other tribes, once bitter enemies, have formally concluded peace and united, as did the Rąmkô'kamekra and the Čą'kamekra. The ceremonial exchange of two precentresses customary on such occasions has been described.[1] The institution of honorary chiefs (p. 9) likewise proves that the Timbira attached more importance to permanent peace than to incessant hostility.

574 *Visits.*—Nevertheless mutual visits of Timbira groups, even when at peace, are
648 not a simple affair. Several days after my first arrival among the Rąmkô'kamekra I
609 wished to visit the Apą'nyekra, who lived only some fifty kilometers to the west. The two groups were on terms of peace, so I asked the councilors to let me hire a young man as guide and groom for my mount. To my astonishment this necessitated deliberations and negotiations protracted for days, and finally I was given for companions two men of mature years instead of the one young lad requested—one of the oldest councilors and another elder named Kopkré, whom I subsequently discovered to be a professional moderator and peacemaker. In reply to my subsequent query, why they had not provided *any* youth for the job, I learnt that that would have been inadvisable since a young man might easily commit some impropriety furnishing pretexts for hostilities and also causing me annoyance. However, such eventualities were not to be feared in the case of old Kentíua and the mediator Kopkré, whose sister, moreover, was married to an Apą'nyekra.

In the hamlet of Porquinhos the chief, Chico Noleto Ka'kų'lu, received me as his people are wont to receive strange "Christians." He regretted having nothing whatsoever to offer me and incessantly demanded rather than begged for anything that came into his head, using such phrases as, "What! You haven't even brought me such and such an object!" When I offered him some tobacco and a batch of cigarette paper, he refused to accept them on the ground that the present was insufficient, whereupon I calmly pocketed it, giving him nothing at all. At this point Kopkré displayed all his talents, introducing me to the second chief, an honorary chief

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[illegible] Ribeiro, *Memoria*, §§ 66–67.

1[only on p. 126, see category 116 --- Analyst]

574 among his own people. This man assigned a corner of his house as our lodging, had
648 his wife roast some gourds, and even managed to secure a bit of meat for us. During
609 the night I was unable to sleep a wink, for Kopkré harangued the Apą'nyekra seated
around him literally from 7 P.M. until 4 A.M. Not at that time understanding a word
[537] of Timbira speech, I asked him what he had told our hosts; he replied that he had
admonished them to live peaceably and morally. It is inexplicable whence he derived
the substance of his Marathon speeches, for the replies of the Apą'nyekra were far
briefer; however, at least some of them listened to the very end.

648 In 1930 the Rąmkö'kamekra were struck with the disconcerting lack of arara
feathers required for the ketúaye initiation. Accordingly, they once more—with all
438 due precautions—sent an embassy to the Apą'nyekra, who were somewhat better
off in this respect, in order to get arara feathers in exchange for clay tobacco pipes
of Neobrazilian type which had been manufactured by old Kukräčą'.

648 In 1933 a Krahö' delegation accompanied by one Kénkateye visited us at Ponto.
The Krahö' have no honorary chief there, but being on close terms of friendship
574 with the Apą'nyekra they proceeded to the house of the above-mentioned woman
married to a member of this tribe. At sunset, as the councilors were assembling in the plaza, the head chief Ropką' rose and for a while sang with outstretched arms. Then he leaned on his staffclub, rocking his body to and fro, and with his powerful voice shouted toward the house harboring the newcomers, "You poor fellows! I pity you! Don't you know how malevolent our tribe is! Truly you are men of courage to have ventured here. Now come to the plaza and tell us what you are here for! Don't linger long! Hurry, so that we may find out!" Thereupon the three guests paid their respects to the chiefs and sat down, saying they had come for a visit. Actually, their object was apparently to induce me to return to the Krahö'. Then Ropką' sent them to his dwelling to eat. These visitors were well treated and stayed over a week. Whatever house they entered, they were entertained with food, and wantons were supplied to sleep with them.

The reception of a Guajajára embassy has already been described on page 46 f.
574 The Eastern Timbira, as indicated by my experiences among the Apą'nyekra, are
609 not particularly hospitable to civilized visitors. It is true that no tribe will deny a
transient a night's lodging. Usually one of the chiefs, or often enough some other
577 resident, will allot the traveler a place in his wife's or mother's dwelling, except
possibly among the Apą'nyekra, where I noticed a dilapidated shed for strangers. However, food is provided only for an old acquaintance who has extended hospitality to the Indians; whether other strangers go hungry, is nobody's concern. If the traveler makes an impression of wealth, he is brought some trifling "gift"—a mere overture for unremitting mendicancy. Chiefs, however, are not supposed to beg in the way of the Apą'nyekra chief described above. I have never heard of a guest being robbed by his immediate hosts, but he has to be aware of inquisitive visitors from other households. I can certainly not vouch with the same enthusiasm as Snethlage for the honesty and trustworthiness of the Rąmkö'kamekra.[illegible]

LAW

421 *Property.*—Contrary to Apinayé custom,[illegible] among the Eastern Timbira, the land
423 belongs to the tribe, not to the village community. This difference probably results
from the far lesser stability of the Eastern Timbira communities. A few years before
619 my visit to the Pųkóbye the aldea of Morro do Chapeu had split into two settlements,
São Felix and Recurso, but the land remained undivided; and similar developments
occurred among the Krahö'.

[illegible] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 115; Reise, 460.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 11.

421 423 619 101 A particular tribe, then, owns certain rivulets and creeks with their affluents and the important correlated *galeria* forests; the next creek and its adjacent area, beyond the watershed, belongs to the neighboring tribe. Thus the ancient boundary between the Ràmkō'kamekra and the Apą'nyekra was formed by the watershed between the large Papagaio and Porcos creeks, two affluents of the Rio Corda. The entire district drained by the Flores, a rivulet tributary to the Mearim, belonged to the Čą'kamekra. Beyond the eastern watershed of the Flores lay the land of the Hakąpó (=Gamella of Codó). Reduced by wars and epidemics, the Čą'kamekra retreated before the Neobrazilians into the extreme southern corner of their habitat; and when that, too, proved an untenable refuge, they united with the Ràmkō'kamekra, sharing their territory on wholly equal terms.

The northern boundary of the Apą'nyekra and Ràmkō'kamekra consisted of the wooded area of the Mearim, to which these steppe dwellers attached no importance, so that the Guajajára were able to settle there.

The Mearim divided the Čą'kamekra and Ràmkō'kamekra on its right bank from the Krēyé of Bacabal on the left. Originally no Timbira tribe simultaneously occupied both banks of the Tocantins; this was subsequently done by the Krahō', but only because of Neobrazilian pressure. 421 423 Anyone may hunt, fish, gather, and make a clearing at will within the tribal territory. A plot, so long as it is under cultivation, belongs to the family of the woman for whom the clearing was made. Wild fruit-trees are never privately owned unless they have been deliberately spared in clearing a plot. Fellow tribesmen never quarrel over the exploitation of the tribal area. The endless land disputes among Neobrazilians, often leading to murder or manslaughter, figure as a proof of their malevolence. Snethlage reports that two prominent Ràmkō'kamekra of mature age belonging to complementary moieties had the Indian agent in Barra do Corda smooth out difficulties over a boundary transgression.[111] [114] I cannot conceive either how such a dispute could have arisen or how the moieties could have been involved, hence I must assume some misunderstanding on this investigator's part.

422 An object belongs to its maker or winner or to the person for whom it was produced or won. For example, a wife not merely owns the utensils manufactured by herself, but also the objects—say, sleeping mats—made for her by her husband; further, the plot and house cleared and erected by the husband or his assistants. Children become owners of the toys made for them by parents and relatives as soon as the objects are handed to them. Proprietary claims of this sort are generally acknowledged to the fullest extent, the solitary exception being the encroachments of a wife's brothers on her husband's private possessions (see p. 125).

422 425 431 437 Except for houses and cultivated plots, private property is markedly unstable. Chattels, even the most valuable of them, such as rifles, bush-knives, axes, iron pots, and arara feathers frequently pass to new owners because of the fees often obligatory on individuals as well as organizations. As shown elsewhere (p. 75), an exaggerated value is attached to tame wild pigs, hence the killing of these animals that regularly recurs during certain festivals involves indemnification of the families which reared them, thus accounting for circulation of considerable property. Another, though rare, occasion for the transfer of many goods is the ceremonial exchange of precentresses when peace is concluded. At the close of the pepyé the families of the new initiates give presents to the two girl associates; in 1933 the elders expressed displeasure with the meagerness of the offerings, whereupon the first commandant of the pepyé stepped up, unbuckled his unused bush-

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[111] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 168.

431 knife—a Collins 128—stuck in a new leather sheath, and calmly added it to the
gifts. When the kų'makra and atų'kmakra go on a joint hunting trip, the former
437 give to the latter a bow, whatever is required for shooting, and the knife for cutting
422 up the game. The killer of a jaguar would exchange weapons with the first companion summoned by his call, even surrendering a gun for a bow. The tool used by
425 the elders in manufacturing the kokré log at the close of the ceremonial period is not returned to the vų'tę''s father.

Decorative articles manufactured by special persons for the wearer never remain his property, being generally passed on—sometimes after hardly a few minutes' use—to his hąpin. On the other hand, the kōkrį't masks become the property of the Mummers' "mothers" at the close of the festive period (p. 212). In other instances the councilors decide who is to receive the decoration. Thus the ketúaye outfit of 1930 was divided between me and the father of the girl associate, Iromkré, for he had taken great pains to fulfill his obligations toward his daughter's age-class moiety, and I had made a contribution for the festival. For the same reason in 1933 the council bestowed on me the ceremonial lance of the pepyé (pl. 31, *c*, *d*).

On well-nigh innumerable occasions food or prepared dishes, notably meat pies, must be provided. I should have to go through the entire ceremonial to list all the instances. The offerings range from an ordinary bowlful of food and the dramatic remuneration of the plaza groups by the novices' kinswomen, who set up in front of the youths' matrilineal homes carrying baskets (po) ostentatiously crammed with victuals. The obligations of the King Vultures also may be cited here, as well as the history of the arara feathers on the lance awarded to the leader of the Clowns.

424 Alienable incorporeal property is unknown. Ceremonial functions are conveyed
789 gratis by inheritance along with the correlated personal names. All songs are common property, to be learnt and sung by anyone willing and able to do so. The Sun is addressed in impromptu words, and I have never noted any signs of magical formulae.

428 Since prior to contact with civilization the Timbira hardly owned objects of
[764] permanent value, the rules of inheritance must have been of minor significance. Snethlage goes so far as to allege (without citing his source) the destruction or interment with the corpse of such personal belongings as weapons, tools, and decoration. Such destruction is unknown to the contemporary Canella. If an Indian dies without issue, his present heirs are his matrilineal kindred, who for the time being take his weapons and ornaments into custody. Two or three days after the funeral they put everything on a mat, around which the relatives assemble for a lament. The gravedigger also appears and is allowed to pick out one or two items from the legacy. Formerly the usage was not to compensate him in this way, but with two newly plaited carrying baskets and large, decorated gourd bowls. The rest was distributed among the relatives. The dead man's sister's son does not receive any special share. On the other hand, they always give the widow some portion of the inheritance; in decency she, in turn, retaining as she does the cultivated plot, will give her mother-in-law a present from the crops raised there. If the deceased has children, they appropriate everything, irrespective of their sex. A woman's house and field, as well as her other belongings, are inherited by her daughter; if there is none, her sister or her sister's daughter inherits, never the deceased woman's husband or son. Thus, children of both sexes inherit from their father, but only a daughter inherits from her mother.

681 *Penal law.*—Since all the emphasis is on the preservation of intratribal peace,
622 penal law is little developed. Ribeiro says:[illegible]

[illegible] Memoria, § 10.

681 622 Arbitrariamente não são elles sós os senhores das vidas dos seus povos, ainda mesmo para a expiação dos crimes, porque quando estes se perpetram, sendo com effeito prohibido entre elles o furto intestino e o assassinio, apenas pode o chefe fazer entregar o delinquente ás partes prejudicadas; si elle roubou ellas o espancam muito a seu gosto; porem si elle matou, tambem o matam, sem que o supplicio deva estender-se ao tormento, ou a outro genero de morte, que não seja descarregar-lhe um pau no alto da cabeça e deitar-lhe os miolos fóra.

(They [the chiefs] are not the arbitrary and sole masters over their people's lives, not even as to the expiation of crimes, for when such are committed, and internal theft and murder are actually forbidden, the chief can merely have the culprit surrendered to the aggrieved party, who beat him up at will for theft. But if he has killed someone, they kill him too, the penalty not including torture nor any other mode of death than their crushing his skull with a blow of a club so that the brains come spurting out.)

682 628 As for murderers, it may be said to the honor of these Indians that neither I nor any person living has experienced a murder within the tribe. The only traditional instance relates to a time before firearms were known, that is, at least 124 years ago. Since it illustrates more than one point of social custom I shall briefly summarize the story:

One evening after the dance in the plaza, when the performers had dispersed, Karątí, a mature man famous as a warrior, seized the wife of a young lad named Wohŏ' by the arm, led her to the edge of the plaza, and remained lying with her there till midnight. The following night he did the same. On the third evening Wohŏ' was standing by the fire with his age class, when one of his kwų'nō reproached him for his lack of courage. Wohŏ' answered that he was not afraid of Karątí, but of starting a quarrel; but since his kwų'nō had censured him he would act now. He took his bow, loosened the string, which he tied round the upper end, and waited. At the close of the dance Karątí once more seized the girl and took her to the edge of the plaza. After a while Wohŏ' followed. Karątí was lying on his back, his arm resting on the girl's arm, whose leg crossed his body. Then Wohŏ' pushed the tip of his stave through the man's stomach, pinning him to the ground. The man merely groaned and died.

The relatives of both men at once gathered in hostile groups, but the chiefs intervened, preventing a feud by inducing the murdered man's kin to accept wergild, viz. a bow, a large gourd bottle filled with ground nuts, other cultivated plants, and a plot of cleared land. This settled the difficulty for good.

It thus appears that composition was an ancient institution, the wergild being paid to prevent further bloodshed.

685 I have personally witnessed several cases of theft. A certain Tepyét (Hanging-fish) was until about his twentieth year a veritable kleptomaniac, stealing anything loose, from matches to oxen. In order to elude detection when crossing the open plaza with a stolen bush-knife he tied it to his ankle with a string, dragging it on the ground behind him so that at least from a distance he escaped notice because of the grass growing between the radial paths. But the tracks were found, and he was forced to make restoration. One day I myself missed a handful of coins from the top of a trunk standing against the wall. The thief had perforated the grass wall so as to be able to reach the money with his hand. I complained first to my "brother," the Chief Kukrãčą', who brought the matter up before the rest of the council, who entrusted my special hąpín, Čątú, with the case. He came, looked over the situation indoors, then walked round the house, inspected the perforation, and declared, "It was Tepyét!" Then, accompanied by Kukrãčą', he went to Tepyét, flatly accused him, and exacted the recovery of the money. Subsequently the thief tried to efface the bad impression created by rendering me various minor favors. During the final phase of his initiation he relapsed, stealing an ox with the aid of an accomplice, and grossly transgressed the rules of seclusion, so that he came within an ace of being disciplined by the council. However, after marriage he suddenly turned over a new leaf, becoming sensible and stable, so that during the four years since then I have had only favorable reports about him.

685 The commonest form of larceny is that of women stealing one another's fruits in their plantations. If only small quantities are involved, the sufferer for the sake of harmony says nothing. Otherwise the aggrieved party, desiring to evade a quarrel with the thief, appeals to the councilors, who force the thief to make restitution or pay an indemnity. It is difficult for a native to steal undetected, for a single footprint is more damaging evidence than if he had left a visiting card. On a single occasion I overheard a woman loudly calling another names for more than five minutes, shouting over from her own house to the thief's, because of repeated plundering of the vituperator's field. Then her husband intervened to lead her indoors, which put a stop to the affair. Contrary to Ribeiro's evidence, I have never seen anyone beaten up for larceny.

685 177 As to the cattle lifting that has given the Rąmkō'kamekra an unmerited notoriety in the state of Maranhão, a few explanatory statements are indicated. At first the cattle were killed because they were considered a palatable form of game. Later the Indians realized that the livestock was the property of their enemies, to whom they were thus able to cause damage. Still later they concluded treaties, were torn away from their habitat and their economic basis and were thus forced to steal cattle to stave off starvation in the new circumstances created by the Neobrazilians. Today the game of the country has been destroyed and driven off by the stockbreeding fazendeiros, so that when obliged, especially in connection with a tribal festival, to secure the requisite meat, the Indians have to hunt for weeks in vain. They consider themselves entitled now and then to eat some of the fazendeiros' livestock because these animals graze on Indian plantations, where they may even be deliberately driven by their owners with the intention of making life in the locality intolerable for the natives. From time to time the sertão settlers whip themselves into a moral indignation over the Indians' terrible depredations among the hard-won herds of the pitiable fazendeiros, who wear themselves to the bone year in, year out, only to see the whole produce of their labors disappear in the natives' bellies.

The worst enemy of the Rąmkō'kamekra, Jozé de Arruda, once set the annual number of cattle the Rąmkō'kamekra stole from him at several hundred. I know that cattle lifting is a fact and am now in a position to gauge the damage done, which from 1928 to 1937 certainly did not exceed *six* head annually, the average being probably three to four, distributed over as many owners. Where there are no Indians, cattle theft also occurs; but within the Indian zone I have never heard a non-Indian charged with the crime.

733 177 689 A second form of crime occasioned by contact with civilization is due to intoxicants. The Brazilian criminal's eternal plea of extenuating circumstances because he had not been himself is nonsensical from the Indian point of view. However, that a man befuddled with whisky is irresponsible is obvious to the natives. At present they are familiar enough with the use of liquor, yet they are not quite clear how to reckon with misdeeds perpetrated while drunk; they vacillate between regarding the drunkard wholly unaccountable because of his condition and considering on a par crimes in sober and in intoxicated state.

As a matter of fact, crimes due to alcoholism are far less numerous than might be supposed, the following cases having come to my notice. The gravest was the rape of an immature girl by her father (p. 114), which resulted in his wife's divorcing him. In a second instance a drunken Indian rather seriously injured his wife by striking her hand with a bush-knife; but after a period of separation it was possible to reconcile the pair by calling attention to their children's interests. Otherwise, I

733 177 689 was told, the family of the injured wife would have demanded indemnification. Again, an intoxicated Indian kicked his wife and she was ailing for some time after; a divorce ensued, but no further consequences. In addition I noted four or five rather harmless drunken brawls. When a drunkard remains a nuisance, the chiefs have him tied unless the man's relatives have already resorted to that measure, not as a penalty but a precaution. I have never seen in any Timbira village a post to which culprits are tied by way of punishment.[illegible]

The damages demanded when defloration is not followed by wedlock and the attitude toward adultery have been described.

881 689 Disciplinary transgressions are punished only in the case of the lads in initiatory seclusion. During the nocturnal reunions of the pepyé in their first commandant's courtyard, the culprit was called to appear between the double line of pepyé seated along the walls, where the second commandant addressed to him a prolix rebuke. In graver cases the boy had to lift his arms and the two messenger boys administered several lashes on his back with the long, thin rods (pĩhẽre) that are their inseparable appanage. A pepyé who breaks the rule of chastity is forced to eat great quantities of Cayenne pepper. In 1933 the councilors were about to decree this penalty for Tepyét because he sneaked out of his retreat every night to visit his fiancée; but when Tepyét saw that the elders really meant to punish him, he altered his conduct in the nick of time. Among the Apą'nyekra such a culprit would be removed from his retreat and set in the plaza beside his associate in guilt, which was regarded as very ignominious.

681 Evil sorcerers were executed (see p. 239 f.).

671 628 The following legal principles emerge from the concrete instances: (1) Both the culprit and the aggrieved party are aided by the extended families; (2) the chiefs and councilors take pains to adjust quarrels as soon as possible; (3) for this purpose they use the services either of specially gifted persons or of the individuals linked by specially close ties to the parties involved.

622 554 *Chiefs.*—As indicated above, a chief does not command and punish, but is above all a peacemaker. He does not interfere in a family's private affairs, but when his decision is requested it is held binding. At the time of my visit there were three village chiefs, Ropką' (Jaguar-skin), Hąktokót, and Kukrăčą'. Ropką', the oldest, had been mamkyẽ'ti of an age-class that graduated about 1893, but his colleagues had never served in a corresponding capacity. Whenever strife threatens, the chiefs and councilors send men of recognized skill as moderators to calm a refractory tribesman.

The leader of any unit excepting the age-classes is called pa'hí, mehopa'hí, but only a village chief is hąmrén.

[576] Chiefs exercise little political control and display a minimum of individual assertiveness, for the omnipresent ceremonial regulates most of the social life, and it is their and the council's duty to maintain the customary law rather than legislate anew. Chiefs lack badges of official status and receive not a whit more of the food offerings periodically presented in the plaza than the councilors associated with them. They work for a living precisely as any fellow tribesman. However, they do enjoy a measure of prestige, as shown by certain rules of etiquette. Thus, strangers must present themselves to one of the chiefs and explain the object of their visit; he may then either discuss the matter with his colleagues and the council at their next session or immediately call an extraordinary meeting. In the plaza a chief always sits near the center, for it would be indecorous for anyone else to seat himself in front of a chief or to turn his back upon him.

[illegible] As related by Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 13.

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In order to fill a vacancy the remaining chiefs and the councilors jointly elect a mature man of conciliatory temperament and of some oratorical ability. They like to choose a former mamkyĕ′ti because of his experience as a leader, but, as shown, this is not a prerequisite. So far as I know, no chief has ever been deposed, but once an old man who pleaded unfitness was relieved of incumbency at his own request. I have neither observed any rivalry among chiefs nor any eagerness to become chief.

Ropką′ was not considered a good chief, since he grossly neglected his duties, absenting himself for months on the plantations of his wife's extended family and frequently got intoxicated. Hąktokót, who happens to be his younger brother, directed festivals not as a chiefly prerogative, but from inclination and because of his experience. Kukrā̆čą′, about the same age, was the one most concerned for the common welfare; he is thoroughly convinced of the absolute correctness of old Indian customs. In private life he is a wag, hence an eminent Clown.

IV. CEREMONIALISM

X796 527 221 **Among the Canella** ceremonialism is of the utmost importance, absorbing a large part of the people's time and energy. At the same time it is so predominantly secular that to consider it as a part of religion would be doing violence to the facts. Ceremonialism is largely restricted to the vų'tę' period, named after the girls associated with the age-class moieties (see p. 92) and practically coextensive with the dry season. The complementary part of the year is called meipimrą'k.

Every year the Canella celebrate some major festival—either the first (ketúaye) or the second (pepyé) phase of initiation or any one of three intercalary festivals, viz., kõkrít (Mummers); tępyarkwá (Fish Song); or pepkahą'k (Warrior-imitating). The opening of both seasons and the close of the ceremonial season are themselves signalized by solemnities whose description may suitably precede the account of the festivals themselves.

Opening and Close of Ceremonial Season

The vų'tę' season begins with the maize harvest, extending until the Pleiades (krot) become invisible after sunset on the western horizon. This event ushers in the meipimrą'k, which lasts until the maize harvest.

527 *Opening in 1931.*—On April 14 the age classes assembled, each in the maternal home of their vų'tę', whence both groups simultaneously marched, yelling and often stopping, to the plaza, where they sat down in two parallel lines. The best log racer, carrying in his hand a rolled-up cotton girdle with rattling *Lagenaria* tips (čų), sat down before the double line, and slowly began to beat time on the ground with it. All accompanied him, singing two songs in an undertone. This is the customary prelude to a race with two huge burity logs of exceptional weight, such as was scheduled for the morrow. The logs, fashioned in a camp five kilometers north of the village, were thrown down in the plaza, whereupon meat pies were distributed and consumed. In the afternoon a second race was run with smaller logs, which were carried to the plaza from the Ponto creek ford, a distance of only one kilometer.

On the evening of April 16 the youngest of the western age classes, the põhę'kama, headed by their class leader Yóro and accompanied by a number of boys of the as yet unofficial class, came singing to the maternal home of the eastern vų'tę', whose [576] mother, Yątkré, received them seated at her door. The youths and boys sat down in a row, while Yóro advanced toward Yątkré, pressed his hands against his knees—the posture proper in addressing a sitting person of consequence—and in soft, modest tones begged permission to recommence the vų'tę' festival of her daughter, Iromkré, which request was curtly granted.

A little later the youngest eastern age class, the wakõ'kama, obtained the corresponding sanction from the mother of Repíya, the western vų'tę'.

On April 17, before dawn, the boys had gone hunting pereás. They deposited their kill at the plaza site of the põhę'kama. Then all sang in the plaza and marched to the residences of their respective vų'tę'.

[302] At 5 P.M. the two girls took up positions in the plaza, Iromkré being led by her predecessor in office (vų'tę'tum), Pųtkwę'i. She was painted only with a narrow red stripe running horizontally across the upper chest and back, though somewhat lower toward the breastbone. She wore a forehead cloth and a hip cloth in addition to her usual skirt. Simultaneously Repíya arrived from the other side—alone, because her predecessor was dead. Her body was quite nude, bearing a similar red stripe; moreover, her lower jaw was painted red, and a knife was stuck into a cloth

round her hair. The three formed a horizontal line and began dancing to and fro from east to west. Soon the põhę'kama came from Iromkré's home, while at the same time a number of women, led by the chief Kukrāčą' and another elderly man, approached from Repíya's home. They took both girls into their midst, and Kukrāčą' divested them of all their decoration. Then the girls went home in opposite directions, while the thirty-six põhę'kama, singing in an undertone, danced slowly round the boulevard.

The next morning the two youngest classes, põhę'kama and wakõ'kama, went hunting. They dissected their kill at a camp five kilometers north of the village and tied the flesh with burity bast to the upper part of a 4-m. long pole, which the two classes dragged to the plaza amid much hullabaloo at 5 P.M. and held upright. Immediately women and girls came rushing from all sides, trying to tear it down. One of them succeeded in climbing up and fetching down a slice of meat. At last they forced the pole to the ground and tumultuously possessed themselves of the booty.

Then followed the short dance customary at this hour in the plaza, whereupon there began the major festival of the year, which happened to be pepkahą'k. During the performance of any of these festivals little is seen of the vų'tę', but no sooner is it closed than the activities of the age classes recommence in the houses of their girls, only ceasing with the approach of the rainy season, when the ceremonial period ends with a two days' series of special ceremonies.

On the first day the Agouti and Jaguar societies appear, as well as the Little Falcon; there follows the atúpok, that is, the burning of grass areas in the plaza. On the second (final) day, the societies and the Little Falcon reappear, followed by the hõyakrékate ceremony and the erection of the kõkré log.

Opening in 1936.—In 1936 the opening was greatly delayed by the Rąmkõ'kamekra split into two local communities. The procedure was as follows.

In the afternoon of July 6 Vakái, beating time on a mat with his rattle girdle, sang in the plaza, as always in the capacity of a čúkate whenever the next day's race is to substitute the enormous and heavy logs of the pau d'arco heartwood for those of burity. The logs had been fashioned three kilometers above the village on the Rapoza Creek, were naturally perforated in the direction of the axis, and had the weird weight of certainly well above 100 kg. Such logs are called pąra, hąmkrán, or ku'hẽtum.

The following morning the members of the western challenging team assembled and cleared a long track four meters in width and a path from it to the great race course outside and south of the village. The two logs were laid parallel beside each other on leaves on the track and painted with urucú by two one-time pepyé girls (pl. 29, *a*).

After the arrival of the eastern team both sat down at the edge of the track, each on one side of the logs, and the four čų'kate took up their posts: Vakái stepped behind the logs (viewed from the village); Pąrkré, holding a thin staff, in front of them; while Pąnhí stood to the right and Mĩkrõ' to the left. (Fig. 10.) All four were facing the logs and wore folded cloth bands around the forehead and waist, which ornaments were removed by their pinčwę'i at the close of the ceremony. Čų'kate means "those of the rattle girdle" (čų').

Vakái began to sing, extending his arms, stooping, and vigorously stamping his right foot, the rattle girdle being tied round the corresponding knee. In the meantime Pąrkré mutely danced up and down before the logs while holding the staff like a throwing spear. The two others were standing immobile and silent. At the close of his song Vakái, making odd movements with his hands, came up quite close to the logs. As soon as he had finished, the two lateral čų'kate answered, thereby giving the signal for starting the race. The challengers are privileged to choose whichever log they prefer. Immediately four men on each side raised their log to the shoulder of their first racer, and the opponents began running toward the village. Midway another spot had been cleared like the first; there both logs were thrown down and shifted by the contending sides, whereupon the race to the village was at once resumed, the logs being thrown down in the plaza. Thereupon Pąrkré, softly singing, danced from house to house around the boulevard, one of his pinčwę'i shading him with an uplifted mat. In the meantime the logs in the plaza were painted once more.

At sunset the age-class moieties marched each in front of its vų'tę''s home and asked her maternal uncle, not her father, for permission to open the vų'tę' season. The uncle, with the other members of the family, had been waiting for them.

The next afternoon, and henceforth daily, a log race was run. Then the two vų'tę' appeared, covered with falcon down and decorated with bands of folded cloths and other objects. Each accompanied by her predecessor in office, they went simultaneously from their houses toward the plaza, where these two pairs danced from east to west, passing each other. At the same time there came from the north the slowly chanting younger age classes, and from the south a group of young women and girls. They turned about in the plaza and sang facing each other, the men with raised hands.

Then the oldest man in the village appeared with a rattle, dancing to its accompaniment, while an old woman sang with the bandoleer of the precentresses. The younger classes accompanied the old man's dance, then danced across the plaza to the vų'tę' houses and back again to the plaza, where the one at the head constantly imitated the falcon's cry. A mepikén dance around the boulevard closed the proceedings.

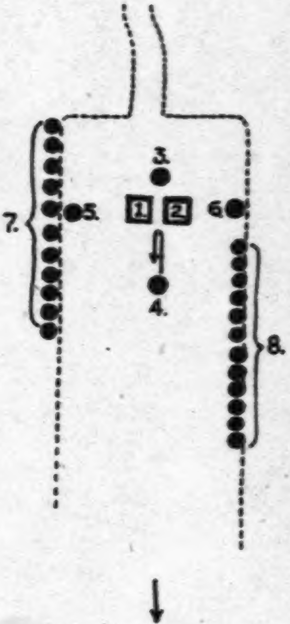

Fig. 10. Opening of ceremonial period, teams with hamkrán logs. 1, 2, logs; 3, Vakái; 4, Pąrkré; 5, Pąnhí; 6, Mikrõ'; 7, challenging team; 8, challenged team.

The next day a troop made up of members of both age-class moieties went out hunting while the girls marched singing around the boulevard in order to help the hunters get ample booty. Some forty Indians were waiting for the hunters on the Riacho dos Bois, three kilometers from the village. As always nowadays, the kill was inconsiderable—a coati, an anteater, a skunk, and two pacas. A thin, straight tree trunk 6 m. in length was barked and wrapped with green foliage, and they tied the sliced booty to it. This pole, called hatre, was carried into the village at a trot, one native dashing ahead with piercing yells and hastily digging a pit for it in the center of the plaza. The bearers set the butt of the pole into the pit and supported it with their hands in an upright position. At once a bevy of women surrounded them, trying to tear down the hatre. The men acted as though about to lay it down on one side, now on the other, thus making the women constantly run hither and yon. At last they laid the hatre down and the women in great disorder seized the attached slices of meat, while a Clown made an effort to drag away the entire pole.

Forthwith several other members of the Clown society came running with a gnarled little tree, to which were attached dirty intestines and pieces of wood, but also some good bits of meat. The women possessed themselves of the spoils despite the attempts of the Clowns to snatch them away.

Several days later the unofficial boys' class amusingly imitated their elders' activities. They jointly marched into the steppe, killed small birds and steppe rats, and tied their game to the branches of a little tree trunk 2 m. high, with which they ran to the plaza, where little girls welcomed them and took down the spoils. But the boys had also tied some pieces to the end of their long hair, at the nape of the neck, and thus ran across the plaza, pursued by the little girls, who tried to catch them and take away their booty.

At sunset, after the close of the hatre ceremony, the girls decorated themselves by donning the cord girdle with green urucú leaves stuck in front of it—their customary dancing costume—and moved around the boulevard, slowly clapping their hands.

The rópkama class danced before their vų'tę''s house, with two pōhitíkama youths as errand boys, under the direction of a head dancer with a rattle. Then the age-class moieties marched round the village circle—the easterners clockwise, the westerners contraclockwise. Many bowls full of food were carried into the vų'tę' homes for their entertainment, and in front of the houses the singing was kept up until late at night.

Three days later began the tepyarkwá festival.

Formal closing of the season.—(a) The Agoutis and Jaguars always appear jointly, and only on two occasions, viz., at the end of the ceremonial season and during the Mummers' festival. Their activities consist mainly in the Agoutis teasing the Jaguars, who try to capture their tormentors. The Little Falcon (hąkre), who is decorated with falcon down, never appears except with these organizations. His office is hereditary in the maternal line. In 1930 the incumbent was so small that he had to be carried on his special hąpín's neck and this "friend" substituted for him in the requisite rites, the little boy's mother walking beside him.

After the procession of the two societies, the Agoutis take their position in the plaza, facing west and pressing their hands against their knees. One of them stoops down, thus runs to the western vų'tę''s home, that is, to the Jaguars' place of assembly, and calls for the Little Falcon there, the boy assuming his place in the center of the plaza. The Agoutis dance and surround him, while the hąkre squats on his heels, raises his right arm wing-fashion, and with his left puts a whistle between the Little Falcon's lips for him to imitate the bird's cry. Then the Agoutis take the Little Falcon back to the Jaguars' lodge, whence they race back to the plaza. The Little Falcon goes to the eastern vų'tę''s house, that is, to the Agoutis' lodge. As soon as he has vanished inside, the Agoutis utter their cry, to which the Little Falcon answers by a single whistle.

(b) a'túpok. When the sun was already very low, some thirty men were forming a dance ring in the plaza around two of their fellows. One of them, Wakái, the best log racer of the tribe, had a rattle cincture tied to his right leg below the knee and was dancing vehemently; the other was a precentor.

Soon after sunset the people, starting from the boulevard, set fire to the grass of the sectors of the plaza between the radial paths, so that in a few minutes the entire area, 300 m. in diameter, went up in smoke and blaze. Now began that extraordinarily wild, fantastic scene which had aroused Snethlage's admiration in 1924. Boys and girls played the part of game animals surrounded in an old-fashioned battue, simulating an ostrich's neck by raising the arm aloft and with one hand imitating the bird's head; or wearing palm fronds for tails in the role of anteaters. Specter-like forms, pursued by the hunters, were flitting at top speed in the hot twilight atmosphere between flames and smoke. The scene no longer suggested the act of a play, but a matter of life and death. The flash from blank cartridge shots would illuminate the clouds of smoke as impersonators of the quarry tumbled to the ground and were hauled to the plaza by the pursuers. I saw one hunter running off carrying two girls.

The next morning came the distribution of meat pies prepared at night in two huge earth ovens at the inner margin of the circle in front of the vų'tę' homes. There followed a log race around the boulevard; a relay race of women and girls along the same track; and a men's race by couples, from one vų'tę' house to the other clear across the plaza. In the afternoon there was first another log race, then a repetition of the Little Falcon performance, followed by the

(c) hũyakrékate. This is an arrow dance executed in the plaza between the double line of eastern and western age classes, the performers being four males feathered with falcon down. These are the hũyakrékate proper and their successors, that is, the sons of their sisters or boys of equivalent relationship. The office is hereditary in two extended families, both of the western moiety. One of the two incumbents, Mĩkrõ', transferred his office as well as his name to a sister's son. The other, Pąnhí, was unable to convey his position to the nephew bearing his name because the lad had been chosen to serve as leader of the youngest age class. Accordingly, the office devolved on a more remote kinsman.

The term hũyakrékate contains the root kre, to point, to show. Ordinarily it designates a butterfly larva that develops underground and points in all directions with its tapering, mobile abdomen.

Though not otherwise in any way connected with the vų'tę', the hũyakrékate are reckoned as their chiefs (hõpahí).

With hands pressed against their knees, the age classes assumed positions in two facing lines extending from north to south. The two vų'tę', down-feathered and ornamented with forehead bands and girdles, were led to the plaza by their predecessors, who bore the red shoulder stripe. There each stood in the right wing of the line closer to her home—the eastern vų'tę' thus standing on the north, the western vų'tę' on the south side. The hũyakrékate and their successors stepped in front of the ends of the double row, each boy holding two arrows tipped with grass balls, of which missiles he gave one to his older companion. While the age classes and the four girls were dancing, the uncles aimed the arrows at each other in their raised hands and danced past each other between the lines, changing places, but directly returned to their former position. The pair repeated this three times, then exchanged arrows. During the entire performance the two boys did not budge from their places.

(d) kõkré. Immediately after this scene the kõkré log was put up before one vų'tę' house—in this case the eastern one. The first kõkré of a term of office is put up before the home of the vų'tę' first chosen. Thereafter there is alternation from year to year at the close of the season. The log, a 2-m. long section of a thick burity trunk, is manufactured by three mature men of the age-class moiety affiliated with the vų'tę', but it is chopped and carried to the vų'tę''s home by the Jaguars and Mummers. The girl's father had mounted a sort of chisel, rubbed the haft with urucú, and turned the implement over to the three elders, who then chiseled a x796 527 longitudinal hollow in the upper surface of the log, giving it the semblance of a trough. The length of the hollow was to correspond to the vų'tę''s stature, which had been measured for the purpose; but because of an error in the length of the log, that of the hollow was slightly reduced. The kõkré was allowed to lie transversely before the girl's door, and the men went off taking along the tool as their fee. All this had been done early in the morning.

In the afternoon, directly after the hũyakrékate everybody marched to the vų'tę''s house. A few paces in front of it a pit was dug exactly in the middle line of the radial path; there the log, planted so that its hollow faced the plaza, was fixed in place by stamping. One of the hũyakrékate boys attended as an onlooker.

This terminated the season, the meipimrą'k commencing the very next day. The kõkré log remained standing for several weeks; then it was removed and chopped up.

The vų'tę' also figure as girl associates (mekuičwę'i) of the Clown society at the tepyarkwá.

527 171 In its present form the institution is not quite clear, the personal functions of vų'tę' even in ceremonial being quite insignificant. Neither my own experience nor the literature seems to reveal anything comparable among other tribes, with the possible exception of a reference in Jacob Rabbi relating to seventeenth-century Otshukayana in Rio Grande do Norte:[illegible]

> . . . qui deinceps tempus terunt hastilibus certando, luctando, currendo; quibus certaminibus duae foeminae ad id selectae praesident & júdicant de singulorum virtute & victoribus.

To be sure, the vų'tę' do not function as such umpires.

In any case the vų'te' principle is the same as that of the mekuičwę'i associated in couples with every initiation and festive organization. The Apinayé also have comparable pairs of girls bearing "great names."[illegible] The female sex is represented by a member of each moiety at all men's ceremonies.

OPENING AND CLOSE OF THE MEIPIMRĄ'K SEASON

527 On the very first day after the close of the ceremonial period there is a race between the two rainy season moieties, ką' and atų'k.[illegible] They are separated by a palm-grass partition erected transversely across the race track about five hundred meters outside the village. The ką' assemble on the side toward the village, the atų'k on the opposite side. This is the only ceremony that in any way justifies the designations People of the Plaza and People of the Outside (p. 84). For this race two pairs of enormous logs are always prepared, one for the men, the other for the girls. On this occasion the men mostly wear their long occipital hair tied together with a small grass ornament, hivakũi (p. 48), and all of them are painted with the designs of their side in vertical or horizontal black lines.

Before the hẽrkučą, that is, the terminal ceremony of the katą'mre period, the first of the season, a one-day hunt is scheduled. At a short distance beyond the village the grass partition is put up across the race course. The ką' assemble on the village side, the atų'k on the far side.

The young girls and women, separated according to rainy season moieties, form two groups close to the street, outside the partition and beside the men affiliated with them by moiety. In front of the atų'kkwęiye (women) stands Iką'rkate, the atų'k men's leader; in front of the kąkwęiye (women), Kačúnkate, leader of the ką' men. Iką'rkate goes to the women of the opposite moiety and asks one of them

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[illegible] Pisonis and Maregravi, 280.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 24.

[illegible] These data supplement what has already been described under the head "Rainy Season Moieties" (p. 84 ff.).

x-796 which atų'k man she wants for a comrade. She names him. Iką'rkate returns to the
527 men of his own moiety, touches the man indicated with a grass wisp, and tells him
the woman's name. Kačúnkate goes through a corresponding procedure with the
atų'k women, both leaders continuing thus until all women have acquired a mate
from the complementary rainy season moiety. The leaders make the requisite
arrangements for the log race, at which the atų'k are the challengers. The logs are
always inordinately thick burity sections, but are largely hollowed out on the inside.
Then the ką' boys remove the grass partition, all jointly marching to the district
picked out for hunting.

There they split up into two parties, one hunting in the woods forming a line of
marksmen (mekumãirį'), while the others are equipped with digging sticks and
bush-knives in order to catch armadillos, anteaters, etc. The women accompany their
comrades.

All the kill is brought to a spot where other atų'k have in the meantime fashioned
the race logs. Each rainy season moiety deposits its booty in one heap, but the atų'k
appropriate all the ką' game and add it to their own pile, where they separate everything
and longitudinally divide every piece in turn alongside of the vertebral
column. They retain the portion including the head, spine, and tail, giving the
smaller half back to the ką'. Thereupon each rainy season moiety distributes slices
of meat first to the women and girls of the complementary moiety accompanying
them, then to the rest of the men. The women and boys load themselves with the
burden, and the active runners race to the village with the logs. After the close of the
race there is a dance in the plaza. The women and girls bring cooked food to their
[837] comrades' moiety. This terminates the exchange of women. During this period no
one resents extramarital sex relations.

Something similar occurs at the killing of a tame peccary (taitetú), such as takes
527 place at the close of each initiation phase, also of the pepkahą'k. In the steppe, by
837 the brook where the race logs are lying, the peccary is cooked, then both men and
women race with the logs, the eastern and western age classes pitted against each
other. In this case the wives of the eastern classes attach themselves to the husbands
of the western, and vice versa. The unmarried girls choose whichever side they
prefer. This applies to initiation; at pepkahą'k the exchange of women obtains
between the pepkahą'k, Clown and Falcon societies on the one hand, and the Duck
society on the other. The women and girls prepare food for the side to which they
have attached themselves, and extramarital sex relations are again permitted. However,
it is by no means general: only a small minority of the participants avail themselves
of the opportunity and, if so, in so discreet and unobtrusive a manner that the
exact extent of indulgence on such occasions is difficult to ascertain. In these circumstances
there is no formal segregation and choice of comrades.

527 According to the ancient rule the meipimrą'k begins only after the kõkré log has
been erected, which formally closes the vų'tę' season. But in 1936 everything was at
[731] sixes and sevens; three epidemics had caused heavy losses, dispersal, and economic
derangement. Thus it happened that by July the vų'tę' season, let alone the year's
major festival, had not yet been inaugurated, being delayed by nearly three months.
At last, however, the opening occurred and tepyarkwá was begun as the year's festival.
But on August 15 the vų'tę' ceremonial was prematurely interrupted. On this
day a party of hunters were camped eight kilometers north of the village and
expected to return by way of a log race, with age classes pitted against each other
in accordance with the rules of the season. But when all had assembled at the site of
the prospective log manufacturing, Iką'rkate, the atų'k leader, suddenly declared

*796 527 that they were surfeited with running as age-class moieties. He ordered his katą'mre team to make two small, hollowed-out logs of burity (katą'mre), and suddenly the hunters, divided according to rainy season moieties, came running into the village with their logs. Neither the logs nor the racers had been properly painted.

In the late afternoon the katą'mre and va'mẽ'ye then arranged a relay race, using as race wands anajá palm midribs with green palm-leaf tufts at the top, which were deposited in the plaza after the race.

As I was leaving the village on August 23, the Indians were just about to abrogate the prematurely begun meipimrą'k ceremonial in order to be able to close the vų'tę' season in proper fashion. Thereupon, I was told, the meipimrą'k régime would be reinstated.

The lodges of the rainy season moieties are the maternal homes of the girl associates of age classes in process of initiation (ketúaye-kuičwę'i or pepyé-kuičwę'i). Of these girls, one is *patrilineally* of the ką'makra, the other patrilineally atų'k-makra. Each rainy season moiety assembles in the house of the girl whose father belongs to it.

THE INITIATION FESTIVALS

INTRODUCTION

881 527 As explained above (p. 90 ff.), all boys undergo two performances each of two distinct ceremonies, ketúaye and pepyé, the repetition being identical with the corresponding first performance. The four ceremonies are spread out over approximately ten years. It is the tribal council that decides when the boys are ready, and it may insist on an extra repetition of either ceremony. Further, it also determines which of the noninitiatory festivals shall be celebrated in any year that has neither initiation ceremony. Thus, the following scheme applied between 1923 and 1935:

1923: pepyé (end of initiation for kaprąnpotíkama class)
1924: kõkrį't=Mummers (observed by Snethlage)
1925 ?: tepyarkwá?
1926: first ketúaye (beginning of initiation of põhįtíkama)
1927: second ketúaye
1928: pepkahą'k (observed by Fróes Abreu)
1929: first pepyé
1930: third ketúaye (observed by Nimuendajú)
1931: pepkahą'k (observed by Nimuendajú)
1932: tepyarkwá
1933: second pepyé (end of initiation of põhįtíkama, observed by Nimuendajú)
1934: first ketúaye (beginning of initiation of kra'tį'kama)
1935: kõkrį't (observed by Nimuendajú)

Both ketúaye and pepyé include an approximately three months' period of seclusion terminating in a final celebration that lasts three days for ketúaye and two weeks for pepyé. However, these two phases of initiation differ greatly as to the character of the segregation. During ketúaye the boys appear in public every afternoon to participate with their relatives in the dancing on the plaza (p. 173). Even apart from this, an exceptional fleeting appearance may be granted them singly (p. 174). The boys of the eastern plaza groups are quartered in a dwelling of corresponding size on the east side of the village circle, the boys of the western plaza groups staying opposite on the west side. Pepyé seclusion is far more rigorous; these initiates, each confined to his own matrilineal home, are neither to be seen nor heard at all by the outside world.

The terminal celebrations of both phases share the pereá hunt with subsequent race, the pąrare race with miniature logs (pl. 35, *d*) and the ceremonial slaying of a

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527 tamed peccary (taitetú). The pąrare race and probably the pereá hunt also, with
881 the subsequent race, may be secondary transfers from ketúaye to pepyé.

The principal object of ketúaye is manifestly to bring the boys into contact with
775 the spirits of the dead—a singular association of religion with the socioceremonial
organization of this tribe (cf. p. 163). This communion, helpful and necessary for
881 the boys, is fraught with danger for all inexperienced persons. This basic idea finds
769 expression not only in the origin myth, which reports how the several ceremonies
and songs of the spirits were furtively seen and overheard, but also in such acts as the feeding of the boys with invisible victuals. Evidently the original belief was that the spirits, lured by their own songs as regularly chanted by the boys, enter the bodies of the novices, who henceforth behave like the spirits themselves until these are removed by ablutions and flagellation. Hence the race with the miniature logs of the spirits.

[771] However, no contemporary Canella clearly grasps this conception. While some informants offer explanations and suggestions wholly in harmony with mine, others search for all sorts of rationalistic or even therapeutic warrants *ad hoc*, exposing the secondary character of their interpretations. These men are honestly convinced that all ceremonial exists for its own sake exclusively and do not bother their heads over questions of origin and significance.

The Apinayé, who in general are somewhat more religiously inclined, wholly lack the notion of a communion between novices and spirits at initiation.

881 Quite different is the object of pepyé, said to have originated in the voluntary
582 seclusion of two boys for the express purpose of developing as rapidly as possible
into strong young men—not in order to marry, but in order to avenge their parents, killed by a man-eating giant falcon. The avowed purpose of entering as a boy and suddenly emerging as a handsome young man, according to Indian standards of beauty, is too transparent a notion to have escaped even the attention of Neo-brazilian neighbors. Any settler when questioned will at once explain that the Indians shut up their lads in a *chiqueiro* (pigsty) and marry them off after forced feeding designed to enhance their virility.

[884] Actually graduation from the entire initiation cycle was a prerequisite to matrimony, but by no means rendered immediate marriage obligatory. For one thing, the age of the initiates would range from fifteen to twenty-five, while males rarely took a wife before they were twenty. However, the pepyé festival does include instructions about the choice of spouses and married life, and the terminal ceremony, in which their prospective mothers-in-law lead the initiates by a rope, drastically represents the impending union.

Thus, the ketúaye is basically a religious performance, while the pepyé belongs to the social sphere.

881 I shall now present the origin myth of the ketúaye and then describe my own
773 observations; this will be followed by parallel data on the pepyé.

KETÚAYE

Origin myths.—The great falcon Hąkti had devoured so many villagers that the survivors decided to flee. A boy who had been delayed in a plantation and knew nothing of this decision was left behind. When at last he went home and entered the deserted village, he saw in the plaza a crowd of dancing and singing figures who were painted red. He was about to walk up to them at once, when the shade of his deceased uncle warned him to go round the outside of the village. The souls of the dead in the plaza, however, had already noticed him. "Look, there is a boy coming!" cried one. "He is mine!" cried another. "No, mine!" exclaimed a third. The boy fled, but outside the settlement he climbed a lofty tree, from which he could survey the plaza. Thence he saw how something was being brought to the souls from the houses. They knelt down, cupped their hands

X796 881 773 under their mouths, and were fed in this posture. Then they resumed dancing and sang, "hamuyē-hē hamuyō-ho a-hō hamuyē-hē hamuyō-hō a-hō hamuyē rikavá!" They also had other songs, which the boy learnt. When he at last caught up with his people, he reported about the behavior of the dead and taught them their songs.

Another myth connects with a cannibalistic Amazon, Kupētiayabré, who had driven the Indians to abandon their village because of her attacks and who had raised two kidnaped boys. One of these stole a pet mutum (*Mitua mitu*) of the cannibal's, and she then plotted against their lives, but at night they managed to escape. In the evening they reached the deserted tribal village and were very hungry. Outside they met their grandfather, who was fetching firewood. He accompanied the boys into the village, where many people were dancing in the plaza. The old man fed the boys, but the food disappeared before they had touched it. Then the boys recognized that the beings dwelling there were the souls of the dead. When they returned to their kin, they told about this experience. Then a brave and clever man returned to the deserted village and clandestinely learned the souls' chants and ceremonies.

X796 881 *Organization in 1930; officers.*—This was the third ketúaye of the pōhịtíkama age class. The first, opening their cycle, had occurred in 1926, but was not performed according to the proper routine, hence had to be repeated the next year. In 1928, pepkahą'k, a festival independent of initiation, was celebrated; in 1929 the age class underwent the first performance of the second phase, pepyé; and in 1930 the second half of the cycle started with a third ketúaye.

Arriving about the end of May, 1930, I found that the ceremony had begun about a fortnight before, hence for this period I have to depend on the statements of participants. Confidentially, the elders had told me in the previous year that the celebration would begin in May, but the exact date of the commencement was only decided in a general conclave of the councilors. It was purposely postponed until the Indian agent in Barra do Corda assured them that I was coming soon. The general direction was assumed by two chiefs, of whom Hąktokót, representing the western plaza groups, played the chief part. His colleague Kukrāčą' represented the eastern plaza groups, for in ketúaye the significant dual grouping is that of the plaza.

The chiefs first appointed as two mekapónkote, one from each of these nonexogamous moieties, two young men in their mid-twenties, who had graduated from initiation and were qualified for this office by their serious disposition. They command the two plaza moieties of the ketúaye and carry as badges two long, thin rods. In a procession they march at the tail end of the ketúaye.

Next were chosen two hapąnkate (catchers), one from each plaza moiety—men of about thirty, with constabulary duties. These officials carry sword clubs and wear plaited forehead cords and bandoleers.

At the initial ketúaye of this class in 1926 the elders had already selected two mamkyē'ti (class leaders) from among the novices starting on their cycle. This office is lifelong, hence the same functionaries served in 1930. They invariably lead a procession. Their badge consists of a fanlike occipital ornament of towering arara tail feathers (pl. 35, *a*).

Since the office of the girl associates (mekuičwę'i) is also lifelong, the present incumbents, Koté and Hąrarák, had been appointed at the opening of the cycle and had served in the three preceding performances of the current cycle. Contrary to my own earlier information, these associates do not represent the exogamous moieties; they are chosen with reference to their *patrilineal* descent to represent the two rainy season (ką'makra and atų'kmakra) moieties. When they are painted for the closing pepyé celebration, one girl is reckoned as of a western plaza group (kétre), the other as of an eastern plaza group (čépre).

X796 881 554 The girls' place is in the middle of the boys' line. Each has as her badge two chest x796 881 554

cords, from which hang beaded tassels, a rod comb, and a little bowl for urucú. (See pl. 20, *a*.) The badges are made by the girl's maternal uncle, and are difficult to buy because as long as she lives she treasures the decoration as a souvenir of her ceremonial activity.

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Finally, the ketúaye require two precentors to teach the boys dances and songs, which is done without dance-rattle accompaniment. They bear the title of the model dancer at the ordinary dances of women and girls, namely, ikrérekate. They stand at the extreme end of the line, beside the leader, and wear no badges. Chief Hąktokót himself assumed the office for the eastern plaza moiety, while a man of mature years who also served as model dancer on other occasions figured in the same capacity for the western groups.

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The date for opening the solemnity was known only to the councilors and the newly chosen officials. On the afternoon selected the two catchers successively entered each of the several dwellings of his own plaza moiety, led out a boy, and took him to the plaza. The two lads were placed opposite each other, so as to initiate two parallel lines extending from east to west, the eastern plaza moiety line on the south side, the western plaza moiety line on the north side. The first two boys thus led to the plaza were the age-class leaders. There followed sixteen boys from each side and finally the two girls.

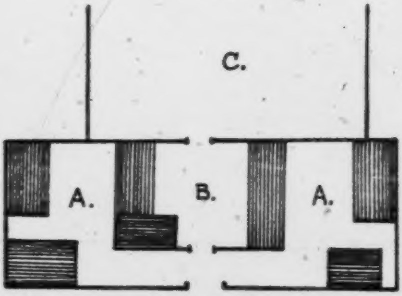

Fig. 11. House of seclusion of ketúaye. A, living room; B, internment cell; C, courtyard.

▬ = platform beds.

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Seclusion.—Immediately after the completion of the two lines, the two commandants led them into the woods to fetch palm leaves for their seclusion chambers. These are invariably in the same two houses, which occupy rather exactly the east and west points of the village, and with this function in mind are from the start built on a larger scale than the ordinary dwellings. Each of the two groups is domiciled on the appropriate side.

At the rear wall of each of the two houses a chamber, each 5 m. long and of somewhat lesser width, is partitioned off by high grass walls, but so as not to extend to the front wall of the house, thus leaving a corridor between this wall and the front wall of the chamber. Facing the front wall of the house the chamber wall has its entrance, usually covered with a mat, and the back wall that is common to the house and the chamber provides an exit. In order to render the ketúaye invisible when occupied in the open air, two grass walls several meters long project from the back of the house at right angles to it. (Fig. 11.)

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Except for their afternoon singing the ketúaye, including the class leaders, remain day and night in their chambers. The commandants and the girls sleep with their families, but spend the entire day with the secluded novices. On the other hand, the catchers and precentors never enter the chambers; they join the ketúaye only when these take up their places in the plaza.

During their entire seclusion the ketúaye daily appear in the plaza toward 5 P.M., in order to sing there. The catchers give the signal for the assembly by standing opposite each other in the plaza, one facing west, the other east; they leave a sufficient space to permit the double line of ketúaye to form between them. As soon as

X 796 881 the catchers raise their right hands, the expectant ketúaye simultaneously sally forth from their houses of seclusion and march to the plaza in single file, each group headed by its leader and the respective commandants bringing up the rear. In the plaza they form a double line between the catchers, the easterners facing north, the westerners south at a distance of about two meters from each other. Now the precentors assume their respective positions, while from all sides the boys' male and female relatives, as well as other spectators, come out of their residences. The boys' matrilineal kinswomen bring gourd bottles filled with water and place them on the ground; each stands behind her son, nephew, grandson, brother or cousin, thus forming an additional line on each side behind the novices. Some short distance behind these women stands a more or less complete row of kinsmen, and still farther back are other spectators. (Fig. 12.)

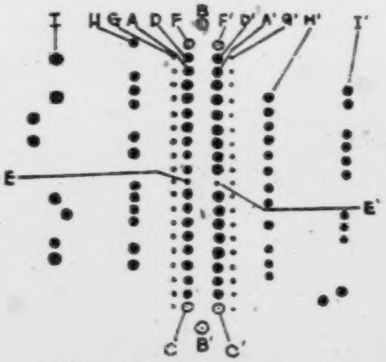

Fig. 12. Position of ketúaye for singing in plaza. A, A', ketúaye; B, B', catchers; C, C', commandants; D, D', class leaders; E, E' girl associates; F, F', precentors; G, G', kinswomen; H, H' male relatives; I, I', spectators.

Soon the precentors begin the songs and dance of the souls. There are always five songs, each being repeated several times. The boys take up the chant. The dancing, as always with this tribe, starts feebly, gradually growing more animated, and finally vehement. The boys' kinswomen step up to them, put their hands on the lads' hips, and in this posture join in the dance behind them. Only the two catchers at their outposts stand immobile, their right hands raised as though in benediction.

The souls are now supposed to be present, and the kinswomen profess to lend support to the boys by their participation.

As soon as the last chant is over, the precentors step aside, then the kinswomen take up their bottles and pour the contents over the boys. This coincides with the procedure for ridding oneself of the influence of the dead after a burial. In the meantime the catchers remain mute and motionless like two statues. Suddenly they drop their right hands, hitherto kept uninterruptedly raised, whereupon the two ketúaye groups, in the order of their arrival, depart for their places of internment.

X 796 883 881 836 So far as I am aware, the only instruction given to the ketúaye relates to the practices of the souls of the dead. The boys pass the time in their chambers as best they can, plaiting mats for their platform beds or manufacturing ornaments and the like. The commandant insists on quiet, staid demeanor, prohibiting noise and romping. The novices must not enter into relations with girls—a taboo sometimes felt as onerous by the bigger boys; every excess in this direction is strictly punished, the youngest member of the group lashing the transgressor's back with a rod at the commandant's request. Indecent behavior toward the girl associates does not occur.

The ketúaye are not at liberty to leave their chambers without the special permission of their mekapónkate. They are not supposed to appear singly in public. Accordingly, in the exceptional instances of absence by leave, they always dash to their destination and back again at a mad pace. Food is brought to the house of internment by a boy's mother or maternal aunt.

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Interruptions.—By the middle of June the ketúaye were sufficiently trained to warrant the holding of the terminal solemnity, but several incidents interfered with the program. In the first place, the arrival of whisky dealers near the village led to alcoholic excesses for a while, preventing the assemblage of the personnel for the ceremonies. Secondly, a neighboring farmer threatened the Indians with vengeance for real and alleged cattle lifting, so that many Rąmkō'kamekra retired to remote plots of cultivated land, taking ketúaye with them. Again, disturbances in the neighboring towns of Leandro and Barra do Corda, though unconnected with the Indians, maintained the existing tension, enhanced by fantastic reports about a revolution in all of Brazil and about skirmishes in the vicinity. As a result of all this, the suspicious Indians dispersed in all directions. Finally, with great difficulty I succeeded in reassembling them by July 14, and the final ketúaye ceremonial began two days later, closing on July 21.

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Closing ceremonial.—About 3 P.M. on July 16 there were two log races between the eastern and western age classes. The first involved carrying relatively light hardwood (parąkačą're) cylinders, 47 cm. in length and only 7 cm. in thickness, from the place of manufacture to the plaza. The second race, with thick burity logs that had served in a previous competition, was around the boulevard. There followed the daily chant of the ketúaye in the plaza.

At 4:30 P.M. the ayų'k ceremony began. The ketúaye marched to the plaza and again danced there. When they were through, the catchers took the feather ornaments of the leaders into their left hands and led the ketúaye, marching in a double column, to the front of the eastern house of seclusion, where the ketúaye in one row squatted on their heels, holding both hands, the palms up, horizontally under the chin. The two catchers stepped in front of the middle of this line, one of them proceeding to the right, the other to the left, from one boy to another. While moving in this way they seized the air with the right hand and feigned depositing something invisible into the boys' upturned hands, this being the mode of feeding the souls. Thereupon the ketúaye rose, the easterners moving northward, the westerners southward along the boulevard. They halted before the vų'tę' girls' houses in the north and south and once more mimicked the feeding of the souls, finally reuniting for the same purpose in a single line in front of the seclusion house of the western group.

After this ceremony, which consumed an hour, they again marched to the plaza, where they preserved the usual order, but sitting down instead of standing. Only the catchers remained standing, as usual holding the head feathers of the class leaders in their left hands. Immediately behind the two lines of boys sat their matrilineal kinswomen, laying both hands on the novices' shoulders. Haktokót intoned the ayų'k song, which the boys repeated singly one after another: "hamuyčhē hamuyōhō ahō hamuyčhē hamuyōhō ahō hamuyē rikavá." Simultaneously and in time, they rubbed the palms of their hands against their thighs. After all had gone through the chant singly, they sang in chorus. Then the second ayų'k song was sung by each one singly, to the rhythmic accompaniment of the palms struck against the thighs. After this chant the ketúaye marched to their seclusion houses.

Beginning as early as 3 A.M. on the following morning there was vehement dancing in the plaza, but without the ketúaye. Before sunset chief Ropką' and his family went to a farm in order to cook sweet potatoes and yams there. At 6 A.M. six old men of the prókama age class came to call for me. Ordinarily no longer painted and decorated, these councilors had donned forehead bands and burity bast ties, and provided me with similar decoration. Uttering the call of their class, "Pro! Pro!", [illegible] trotted southward out of the village, crossed the Atolador and Ponto creeks x 796 881 and on the far bank of the latter encountered the ketúaye sitting together in two groups. One boy in each group was armed with bow and arrows. Passing them, we marched out into the steppe, where we met Ropką' and eight women sitting by a fire with a load of sweet potatoes and yams. We waited here while the ketúaye archers were hunting pereás (*Cavia perea*). After a while distant yelling announced the hunters' success. Soon after this they appeared marching along the path in a long line, two of them carrying the weapons, while the girl associates had little carrying baskets, one of them holding a slain pereá, the other a slice of meat. As soon as the ketúaye were visible, Ropką' and the prókama bent branches down, behind which they cowered down. As the ketúaye marched past, one prókama loudly shouted at them to deposit the food for the living. Thereupon the boys put down bows and arrows and little baskets, picked up the sweet potatoes and yams, and moved on toward the west. The elders followed, but soon turned northward, thus reaching the great race track leading westward out of the village; there they chose and cleared a spot in order to wait for the ketúaye, whose girl associates were with them. Two large gourd bowls full of water were brought, into which were put the odorous leaves of *negra mina* and another unidentified steppe tree in crushed form. The two girls, each armed with a bunch of pau de leite branches, stood behind the two bowls, their predecessors of the preceding cycle of initiation beside them. After a while the ketúaye came rushing headlong down the road, their bodies covered with short strokes in charcoal. As soon as one of them arrived, he stepped up to his group's girl associate, bracing his hands against his knees, and received some water from the bowl to drink. Then the girl poured some on his head with her hands and struck him two or three times on the back with the bundle of twigs. Thereby the souls of the dead were made to depart from the boy's body. In addition, chief Kukrăč'ą with a branch whipped the legs of several boys who had dropped behind in the race. Then all marched back on the big street to the village, the ketúaye bathing as they crossed the Santo Estevão and rubbing off their black paint with leaves.

x 796 881 Before noon I ordered two head of cattle slaughtered in the village, and in the afternoon meat pies were being prepared everywhere. In the meantime, along the boulevard there was a race with the thin pąrąkačą're logs.

123 At 3 A.M. of the following morning I was called to the plaza, where there was dancing. Then the men divided into the two plaza group moieties, joined by the ketúaye according to the affiliation of their maternal uncles. x 796 881 Now the novices and the two girls were smeared, from the shoulders down, with a mixture of chewed, oily babassu palm kernels and almecega rosin, and white falcon down was stuck on. The effect was that of white bathing suits with a triangle cut out around the genitalia. Women and girls aided in the decoration of the boys. At sunrise all had completed their preparations. The three plaza groups of each moiety assembled in the order already described.

Now there formed in the very center of the plaza a group who were searching for something in the ground and finally produced two neatly carved little wooden logs painted red—the pąrare logs of the spirits of the dead. At once everyone ran out of the village by the northern road and disappeared from view. Several of the younger ketúaye, however, not being credited with the toughness essential for this perilous race, returned when a short distance beyond the village and took up positions in the plaza in a line facing north. The two girls and their predecessors also resumed positions in front of them, holding the pau de leite twigs and with the big bowls of sweet-smelling water before them. The stay-at-home boys stepped singly in front of the girls, who poured water on them from the hollow of their palms, and struck them on the back several times. (See pl. 30.)

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Hardly had this treatment of the boys present been completed when on the eminence north of the settlement the pąrare racers hove into sight, led by a youth holding one miniature log in his hand. In a mad rush he dashed up close to the girls and laid down the pąrare. Behind him came the eastern commandant with the other little log, then the other novices. All ran up to the girls, who splashed them with water and dealt them two or three lashes. Finally came the two class leaders, each straddling the shoulders of his hąpín and wearing the distinctive feather ornament. The leaders were set down before the girls, but were neither splashed nor whipped. At the very end came a ketúaye, who had evidently had a hard time of it with the spirits, for he was barely able to stand up and, as I afterward learnt, had to be subjected to special treatment, aside from the others, by Hąktokót.

After this race the ketúaye appeared in customary order to dance. Almost all of them had received from their kin forehead and body bands of mottled cotton. While they were dancing and singing, an old man—the senior of the tribe, I think—danced between the two columns, rubbed his right hand against his left armpit, and then stroked the noses and lips of the first three in the line. Then he danced so as to pass outside the lines, opened his arms, danced back again between the two columns, and similarly proceeded with the next three boys, and so on, to the very end of the group. By this procedure the ketúaye are to acquire resistance to disease, the old man transferring to them his own longevity. Rubbing the armpit seems to invest the hand with magical power apart from this setting, for example, in conjuring away a lowering thunderstorm.

After this ceremony Hąktokót walked between the two lines of novices, for which event he also summoned me. He divested all the boys of their decorative outfits—forehead bands, girdles, beaded chains; the leaders, of their feather headdresses; and the girls, of their bandoleers with the little urucú bowls, but allowed them to retain those with their ceremonial combs. Some of these gewgaws he presented to me, but the bulk of them was turned over to Nyõhí, father of the vų'tę' of the western age classes.

Then the next older age class (kaprąnpotíkama) led the ketúaye in a trot around the boulevard and assigned them to their (the novices') mothers' dwellings, which act terminated their seclusion. The other men again ranged themselves in the plaza according to the six plaza groups.

The novices' kinswomen now came hauling meat pies for the plaza group to which each particular ketúaye belonged. The plaza group affiliates distributed the pies equitably among themselves, ate some in the plaza, and took the residue home. Meanwhile the novices had assembled in the house of their vų'tę', while the kaprąnpotíkama went to their meeting place on the other side of the village circle. The ketúaye grasped one another's hands and danced around the boulevard in two lines.

Toward noon the eastern age-class team, accompanied by women and girls left for the Brejo do Boi, twelve kilometers away, where two huge burity logs were lying all ready for a race. They had been laid in the water for a while in order to increase their weight. When the opposing team arrived, a race started from the place of manufacture to the village, where the logs were thrown down on the boulevard. Thereupon there was a funeral lamentation in the dwelling of the recently deceased champion runner. In the meantime the ketúaye, who—like the women and girls—had merely attended the race as spectators, danced around the boulevard. In the afternoon the same logs were taken up once more for a race around the boulevard, which was followed on the same track by a relay race with arrows.

On the fourth day a peccary, raised for the purpose in the village, was slaughtered

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and eaten. This ceremony is common to the terminal ritual of both initiation phases as well as of the pepkahą'k.

Before daybreak the ketúaye went bathing, then ran along the boulevard, whereupon they and several men of the western age classes marched before the house of Hąktokót, the peccary's owner. As soon as the ketúaye appeared, the women of the house burst into loud crying, but presently tied a cord round the beast's neck, handing its end to one of the men, who stepped up to the door. He led the animal outside, where it was clubbed to death while the women were wailing despondently. The women stepped up to the carcass and continued crying for a while, then it was transported to a deserted village site three kilometers downstream from the settlement. There a sunshade for the ketúaye and a windbreak for the prókama had [345] already been prepared, the former composed of a big foliage-covered horizontal lattice of poles above a man's height. Such arbors (*latadas*) are also used at Neobrazilian festivities.

New groups were constantly arriving until the whole population had assembled. The flesh of the peccary was partly cooked in an iron pot, partly used for meat pies, but the ketúaye received none of it, being fed with inferior victuals. The prókama were the first to be served, among them myself, for whom a hammock of interlaced burity leaves had been considerately stretched under the windbreak. There we spent the time eating and storytelling.

In the meantime the ketúaye, accompanied by several young girls, went to prepare a pair of racing logs, while the women made a huge earth oven in the camp, in which fourteen pies were steamed. Then these were distributed; the ketúaye got 836 their share, but instead of consuming it they passed it on to their kin. Finally came the kaprąnpotíkama class, likewise accompanied by a bevy of young girls. They are the opponents of the ketúaye and camp opposite them on the east side of the plaza. Apparently this association of younger people of both sexes had led to sundry love affairs; at all events, several of these kaprąnpotí were in exuberant spirits and unable to restrain their loquacity.

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Two pairs of logs had been made and laid down beside each other in couples on the road outside the camp. The anterior, lighter pair, whose weight was once more checked by experts, was for the girls. The men and the girls then danced, each group behind their appropriate pair of logs, raising their arms and clapping hands. Then the two girls' teams first seized their logs and rushed off toward the village. The men allowed them a start, but overtook them and got to the village plaza ahead of them. However, the girls did not lag behind excessively. The course was relatively short—three kilometers—but annoyingly hilly and sandy.

In the plaza a fire was burning, round which the ketúaye and kaprąnpotíkama performed a wild dance; at the same time the girls grouped by threes and fours formed a broken circle round them, dancing and singing in their customary manner, and the other men stood about still farther off. At sunset this dance was followed by the plaza dance of lads and lasses customary about this hour; and this in turn was succeeded by a girls' log race around the boulevard and a men's race, by couples, from one vų'tę''s house to the other's, across the plaza. In the meantime the ketúaye and the rópkama, who likewise belong to the western team, marched along the boulevard in single file from house to house. As a member of the latter age class I joined in. As soon as one of us got to the front of his mother's dwelling, his kinswomen gave him some object toward payment for the pig slain. I noted cloth, mirrors, spoons, knives, two iron pots, and other articles. Finally, everyone in the column had some object in his hands, and thus we moved to the house of the peccary

X796 881 owner, in front of which the gifts were stacked up. The total value approximated 150 marks. The inmates sat beside the door speechless, with sullen looks and lowered heads. Now the catcher of the western ketúaye stepped out from our ranks, stooped down over his hands, which were folded over the grip of his sword club as it was resting on the ground, and delivered a soothing speech: this was the compensation for the killed animal, they should no longer be angry, and the women should cease crying. However, the latter immediately burst out crying as soon as he had done speaking. Then we formed a company of eight men abreast and marched in stooping posture, with clubs raised, stamping our feet and with a snapping movement of our mouths, from Hąktokót's residence on from house to house along the circle, always first retreating a little before each. Thus we got to the residence of the senior chief, Ropką', at the south end of the settlement, where we disbanded, though a considerable number continued the circuit on the boulevard, for their amusement, blowing their ocarinas.

X796 881 527 On the fifth morning the ketúaye left to bring sororoca (*Heliconia*) leaves for the preparation of meat pies for a wholly unrelated festival, that of the vų'tę', which immediately followed the close of ketúaye. Decorated with black paint, they returned with their load, but not before evening. On the plaza three fires were burning, near which they danced vehemently till late at night, then lying down by the fireplaces with a number of village wantons.

X796 881 On the sixth morning a log race was held on the boulevard. Then Ropką', standing before the ketúaye and like them facing west, delivered a speech, in which he conferred on the age class of the ketúaye the name Hąkkama (hąk = falcon). Then he stepped before the next older class and gave them also a new name—pōhį'kama (pohį' = maize). This was the last act of the ketúaye festival.

About this time the smaller boys, whose cycle was not to begin until another four years, were seized by the age-class spirit. The bigger ones among them assembled, numbering fifteen, to form an unofficial age class under the guidance of a young married man who had graduated from all the initiation rites. They gave themselves a class name, and their commandant taught them to plait, shoot, sing, and dance, also admonishing them to be honest and comradely. They went bathing together and arranged their own races and log races; their earnest, zealous mimicry of the full-fledged age classes was a genuine preparation for future membership.

PEPYÉ

881 527 Pepyé is the only ceremony actually *explained* by an origin myth. The ketúaye, kōkrį't, pepkahą'k, and tepyarkwá myths merely report in what circumstances these festivals, already in vogue among other beings, were surreptitiously seen and learnt. The Timbira regard the story of a giant falcon and the pepyé institution based on it as the common and characteristic property of all their tribes. When the aged Krīkateye chief, visiting the President of Brazil, climbed up the steps to the portal of the Ministry of Agriculture in Rio, he was delighted to recognize in the large stone figure of an eagle at the left of the stairway the falcon of the pepyé myth. The Rąmkō'kamekra version follows.

539 881 *Myth.*—Long ago there was a giant falcon, Hąkti, whose nest was on a high, steep rock. Repeatedly he would fly to the Rąmkō'kamekra village, seize an inhabitant, drag him to his eyrie, and devour him. Thus he also ate the daughter of Kokodyo'tómre and her husband. Thereupon one morning this old man left with his wife and two grandsons, Akréi and Kenku'nă', to go to a remote farm. At noon Hąkti returned, swooped down, seized an Indian, and carried him off to eat him. Kokodyo'tómre and his family saw him flying past with his prey. As the falcon swished by in its rapid flight, the gourd trumpet, still hanging from the back of the Indian carried in the bird's

talons, blared forth with the current of air. Then the other Indians abandoned the settlement and moved far away.

After a few days the old man's wife said to her husband, "Let us inspect the village. One can hear no voices nor the blowing of trumpets there, perhaps the people have already moved." Then the four of them betook themselves to the village, but found only traces of the inhabitants' footprints. "What now?" asked the woman, "Shall we follow the footprints?" "No, let us rather stay here." The two boys also preferred this; so for years they lived alone.

One day Kokodyo'tómre and his family went to the plantation of the fugitives in order to weed the sweet-potato plots. While working, he cried. "Why are you crying, grandfather?" asked the boys. "I am crying because Hąkti has killed your mother and your father." When he went to the plots the next day, the boys stayed home with their grandmother. While the old woman was cooking, the boys were lying on the platform bed. Suddenly Kenku'nã' said, "Let us go bathing." "No," said his grandmother, "wait till the meal is ready." When it was ready, she called her grandsons, who declared they would not eat until they had returned from their bath. Then all three went to bathe in the creek by the settlement. Two thick tree trunks formed a bridge over the water. When the boys got out of the water, they spread juçára leaves over the bridge, lay down on them, and would not budge. "Come home with me," their grandmother admonished them, but the boys bade her go on ahead. "Your grandfather will scold if I leave you here alone," she objected, but the boys could not be persuaded to accompany her, so that she finally had to return alone.

When Kokodyo'tómre got back, he immediately asked for his grandsons. Hearing that they were lingering by the brook, he went there and found them still lying on the bridge. When he urged them to come home, Kenku'nã' said, "We have decided not to stir from this spot until we are big enough to avenge our parents, killed by Hąkti. Build us a hut on this bridge, grandfather, where we can spend the time until then." Then Kokodyo'tómre returned alone and told his wife that the boys were not returning but had gone into seclusion until they should be able to contend with Hąkti. He approved their plan.

Accordingly Kokodyo'tómre put up a firm grate of poles on the bridge and also a completely walled hut. The boys went in and thus were no longer seen by their grandparents. Their grandfather brought food for them. He made a race log and ran with it. He danced before the hut and sang, "Hööö!" He performed all the ceremonies alone. The boys frequently bathed and rapidly grew big and strong. From time to time they inquired whether Hąkti was still flying past, which the grandfather answered affirmatively. One day he wished to see whether the boys were already strong and bade them thrust a finger through the grass wall. Kenku'nã' showed him instead the thin tail of a lizard. After a while Kokodyo'tómre wanted to find out whether their hair, which already reached down from the bedstead into the water, was long enough, but they merely showed him the ends through the wall. After a while Kokodyo'tómre wanted to see the whole body of the boys. He danced toward the hut and sang, "Hööö!" He rubbed his hands and his wife poured water on him. He danced up closer, then he retreated and danced forward again. Then Kenku'nã' and Akrẽi appeared outside as two big, strong youths. Their hair reached down to the level of their knees. Kokodyo'tómre, crying, "Húa, húa!" led them into the village. There the brothers demanded decoration with genipa and declared they were now ready to avenge their parents. Kokodyo'tómre was to advise them how best to effect this.

Then the grandfather made for each grandson a huge club of jatobá wood. On one moonlit night he erected a solid, well-walled hut at the foot of the rock with Hąkti's eyrie; a well-scoured trail led up there. Before daybreak the brothers entered this hut. In the morning Hąkti flew from his eyrie, returning after a while with a man in his talons. As soon as he had reached his nest, the brothers stepped out of their hut and cried, "Čiu, čiu!" Hąkti at once swooped down, but they retreated into the hut so quickly that the falcon flew back in disappointment. But before he was able to sit down in his nest, the brothers again emerged from their hiding place and lured him on anew. Forthwith he swooped down, but they again escaped into the hut. They continued this until the completely exhausted bird was no longer able to rise to his eyrie, merely sitting in front of their hut with gaping beak. Then Kenku'nã' leapt out and killed him with his club.

Then they dragged him home, but let him lie on the trail outside the village. When Kokodyo'tómre saw them coming, he asked, "What have you accomplished?" "Nothing," answered Kenku'nã', "Hąkti is much too big for us." "That's what I thought from the start." "Tell our grandmother to bring in a little bird we have killed and laid in the middle of the trail." Then the old woman went out and soon dragged in the giant falcon. Kokodyo'tómre plucked him and blew the down feathers into the air; they were transformed into little birds that flew off. They dissected Hąkti and used his flesh for pies.

Kokodyo'tómre then said, "There is another bird of this kind. He is named Kuką'e (Portu-

x796 guese: rasga mortalha, *Caprimulgus* sp.) and in his flight he severs people's heads with his bill. He lives in a cave. The upper half of his face is red, the lower black. Have you ever seen him?"
539 "Yes," said Kenku'nã', "and we want to kill him, too. But how can we lure him on?" "The same way as with Hąkti," said the grandfather. He built a hut under Kuką'e's nest, and the boys
881 went in. Since Kenku'nã' had already killed the giant falcon, Akréi asked to be allowed to take care of Kuką'e. He stepped outside and lured the bird on, which immediately swooped down. Akréi was just able to escape indoors, while the bird swept by the hut, neatly cutting off the projecting thatch of the roof. When he got back to his cave, Akréi again enticed him and evaded him. But the third time he was too slow: Kuką'e cut through his neck, his head falling to one side and his body to the other.

Kenku'nã' buried the corpse, but laid the head in the fork of a tree where borá bees were nesting. He mourned the dead youth and returned to his grandparents, to whom he reported the calamity. Then he got himself sweet potatoes from the farm for food while traveling and went to look for his emigrant tribesmen, his grandparents remaining in the old village.

As Kenku'nã' was crossing the steppe he got to the ostrich people (kupẽmą), who had fired the grass to hunt grasshoppers, lizards, and snakes. They saw him from afar and called him to come. Kenku'nã' inquired for the way to his tribesmen. The ostriches told him that a year had passed since the people had come by, but they knew exactly where they were now living. The route lay through the village of the sariema people (kupẽpyégre, *Cariama cristata*). They asked whether he wanted to eat meat and brought him a package of lizards, which he was to eat after pounding in a mortar together with manioc flat cakes. He declined and went on. He got to the sariemas, who were fishing with timbó (*Paulinia pinnata*); they invited him to join them. He then ate fish with them and inquired for his people. The sariemas answered that they had come through the village and were living near by, only two or three days' journey farther on. Then Kenku'nã' moved on and at last reached the village of his people.

He hid by the spring of the village until he saw approaching the girl engaged to him in infancy. Then he stepped forth and told her who he was. He gave her the flesh of a deer he had killed, then she returned to the village and brought him sweet potatoes. At home she pierced the grass wall by her bedstead, and in the darkness Kenku'nã' sneaked in. But the rustling of the grass when his large body slipped through the hole made the mother of his fiancée take note, though she said nothing. Before daybreak the friends of the girl came to call her to a dance, but her mother said she was unable to join because of her sore eyes. However, one of the friends shed light on the bedstead with a burning wisp of grass and noticed the man, who was unknown to her. When the men gathered in the plaza heard about it, they were furious at the intruder and decided to kill him. The mother of Kenku'nã''s fiancée, however, had recognized him, led him to the plaza, and introduced him, whereupon he told his tale.

After Akréi's death and Kenku'nã''s departure, Kokodyo'tómre and his wife also moved on and roved aimlessly over the steppe. Arriving at a mountain, he decided to walk around it to the right and bade his wife go left; they were to meet on the other side. But when they separated they turned into anteaters. Kokodyo'tómre was espied by hunters, who failed to recognize him and killed him. His wife vainly waited for him, crying, on the other side of the mountains, and at last traveled on alone as an anteater.

The gist of this legend is the brothers' entering a retreat in order to accelerate their bodily development, not in order to marry, but in order to avenge their parents. There is no connection with animism.

881 *Pepyé of 1933; capture of novices.*—After the ketúaye of 1930 the boys were still
527 considered far from mature enough to close their cycle with a second pepyé in the
123 following year. Hence, three years were allowed to elapse before the ketúaye initiates, then properly grown-up young men, were segregated for their final pepyé. I attended the entire festival (April 16 to July 18, 1933) and did my best to promote its correct performance so that I was treated as a quasi honorary member of the organization. Thus, in so far as I was not obliged to collaborate with other social units to which I belong (age class, plaza group, etc.), I was able to associate with the youths as one of their number.

881 Until April 16 only the councilors, whose deliberations were secret, knew the date
527 of opening for the festival. On that day an ordinary log race was arranged, the logs having been made by the wakõ'kama age class on the Brejo da Cebola, two kilometers

X 796 881 527 from the village, where the chiefs and councilors also gathered. They sat somewhat apart and discussed unobtrusively the appointment of qualified functionaries for the diverse offices to be filled. Without attracting attention, they summoned a man about thirty years old and made him catcher (hapą'nkate); in contrast to the ketúaye arrangement there is only a single catcher since the pepyé phase lacks the plaza group dichotomy. The choice is also independent of age-class affiliation.

Next a man named Kopkré was appointed the first commandant (mekapónkatepéy), being chosen from the pōhį'kama, that is, from the next older class on the west side since a western age class was being initiated. He was about forty years old and belonged to the čẽpre (an eastern) plaza group (pl. 33, *a*).

[554] Kapẽrtų'k, the deputy commandant (mekapónkatekahą'k) chosen, was one of the oldest of the prospective initiates, possibly twenty-three (pl. 33, *b*), His being already married militated against the ancient rule that young men take a wife only after graduation from all initiation rituals. He had not been prominent in the last ketúaye of his class, but was chosen for his calmness, intelligence, and undisputed oratorical talents. He belonged to the aučẽt (western) plaza group.

The leaders were of course those of all preceding celebrations of this cycle—Čątú, about eighteen years old, of the kupẽ' plaza group (western) (pl. 33, *c*); and Karą'hį', about twenty, of the čōdn (eastern) (pl. 33, *d*). The girl associates (pepyékuičwę'i) also remained identical with those serving in the preceding seclusion rituals of the cycle. They were both now about sixteen years of age. Horarák (western) was already married—another violation of traditional custom; her colleague, Koté (eastern) was merely engaged (pl. 32, *a*).

Two lads, about fourteen years old, who had served as errand boys (kra'tō'ipakatire) at the pepkahák of 1931, were selected for the same duties now, that is, as intermediaries between the segregated youths and the outside world. Specifically, they transmit the orders of the commandant. They are not subject to the rules of seclusion.

Of these appointees only the catcher was at once made privy to the council's decisions. He ordered the wakō'kama (i.e., the class immediately superior to the prospective initiates, hence stationed as their eastern counterparts in the plaza) to fashion a somewhat curved cylindrical club, 76 cm. in length and 5 cm. in thickness. The upper half was painted red, the butt half black, and on this latter was stuck parrot down. (See pl. 35, *c*.) The catcher clandestinely received this weapon and hid it in the prospective house of internment of the eastern class leader Čątú, who—as an exception—in contrast to all other pepyé, was not to be interned in his mother's house but in an avuncular namesake's. This maternal kinsman was living with his wife on the west side of the village, so that the leader of the eastern division was anomalously secluded on the west side, the reason being that he had no living mother or maternal aunt.

With the close of the race and the throwing down of the logs before the house of the eastern vų'tę', the class to be initiated had a precentor called. The girls ranged themselves as usual for a dance, while the youths took positions in front of them.

Suddenly the roof thatch of Čątú's (the uncle's) wife's house parted a little above the lower edge, and the catcher, himself invisible, thrust the ceremonial club (kōkrąčẽt) through the slit, pointing toward the dancers. No sooner had they caught sight of it than they answered with the piercing quavers of the "payarkwamẽ" cry, produced by slapping their lips with the palms of their hands. The catcher then withdrew the club and trotted out of the house toward the plaza, where he deposited it on the ground before the line of girls. Forthwith one of the wakō'kama class,

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which was standing in its proper place in the plaza, stepped out from among them, seized the club and returned to his mates. From him I later obtained the specimen by barter (pl. 35, *c*).

At this moment the dance ceased and the girls' column was dissolved. But before the prospective initiates could depart the catcher ran to the leader of the east side, gripped his sides with both hands, and uttering the catcher's distinctive "hinkō′!" call, viz., "hō! hō–ō!", he led him to the house of his maternal uncle's wife, where he laid him on the bedstead. Then the catcher at once returned to the plaza, and similarly treated the other class leader, except that on the normal principle he led him to his mother's house. After the leaders all the other novices were similarly treated.

Now the novices had to remain on their platform beds for five days, receiving for food only maize cracked in the ashes. From the moment of their capture they bear the title of "pepyé."

Feeding of pepyé; capture of officers.—Four days later the council ordered the mothers of all boys in seclusion to provide sweet potatoes and green gourds. The mother of the western leader was called to the plaza by the council and personally charged with having firewood and rocks prepared for the earth ovens. All other mothers of pepyé followed her example. When all was ready, the mother of the western leader was once more summoned, and the councilors asked whether she had experienced any pain or other disturbance during her labors. An affirmative reply would break off all preparations and postpone the festival till the next year. In the contrary case, as in 1933, the wood and rocks serve to prepare an earth oven on the inner margin of the boulevard opposite every pepyé mother's house. As soon, then, as the morning dance toward 3:30 A.M. begins, the stacks of wood supporting the rocks are kindled, so that the sweet potatoes and gourds are thoroughly baked by sunrise, ready to be carried indoors by the women.

In the meantime, on a hill one kilometer north of the village, the čōdn (eastern plaza group) have made two race logs of "Maria molle" wood. These "pąrakahą'kre" are about ½-m. long, somewhat less in thickness, and are distinguished from other logs by unique handles projecting centrally in the direction of the axis. With these the eastern run a race against the western plaza groups.

Thereupon the councilors elected old Čarčą, one of their number, to hand the sweet potatoes to the pepyé, but previously the snake doctor Paté in the character of Fish Otter (Tetti) walked about, fingering the sweet potatoes to assure himself of their softness, and reported the results to the council, who sent out another Indian functionary as "a' húare" (bird species called bico de agulha by Neobrazilians) with a painted rod a meter long. With this he ran to the eastern leader's retreat, spitted three sweet potatoes on his wand, and ran back to the plaza, where he slipped them off on a mat. Thus he proceeded in turn at all seclusion huts, whereupon the elders ate the sweet potatoes and approved of them.

In the meantime old To'pó, regarded as "Čąre" (steppe fox), shouting "méo, méo!", ran from oven to oven to collect the tubers purposely left for him there, which he put into a basket hanging from his body.

Not until then did Čárčą go to the eastern leader's seclusion hut, where he shouted twice, whereupon the leader stepped up before him. Čárčą picked up one of the sweet potatoes from the ground, pared it, and allowed the leader to take three bites, advising him to eat very slowly because his throat was no longer used to food. Thus he proceeded, passing from house to house, with all the pepyé, whose mothers then rubbed the boys with a substance consisting of the flesh of the gourds baked jointly with the sweet potatoes.

796 527 881 The catcher next ran to the house of the western pepyé girl, led her out, took her to the plaza, and then brought her back to her home; he followed the same procedure with the eastern girl. Then he brought into seclusion the deputy commandant and finally the two errand boys.

Not until the following morning, when the age classes had assumed their appropriate stations in the plaza, did the council designate the chief commandant, whom the catcher seized and, as with the others, led to a bedstead in his mother's home. To date the pepyé, exclusive of the catcher, numbered thirty-eight.

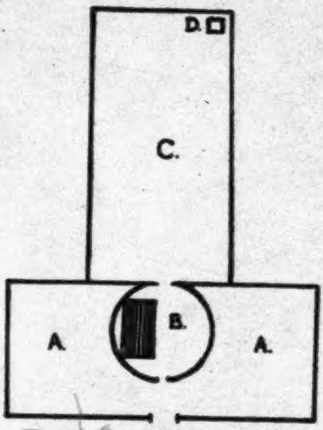

Fig. 13. Pepyé internment. A, living rooms; B, seclusion hut; C, yard; D, latrine.

343 881 *Internment cells; life in seclusion.*—The following morning the men in the plaza grouped themselves according to menkąčą, that is, by the dichotomy of the six plaza divisions (p. 87). Each group was to prepare the retreat for members who were pepyé.

As stated, all pepyé were interned in their maternal homes except for the eastern leader (p. 182). In each house a beehive-shaped hut (ikrére), about 3 m. in diameter and 2 m. high, was put up directly at the rear wall (fig. 13; pl. 34). This cell (fig. 13, *b*) had an anterior door barely 30 cm. in height and closed by a mat from within. The furniture was limited to a bedstead ½-m. high and one or two mats. Behind this cell and the rear wall of the house was a courtyard, kwęk, 5 by 10 m., fenced off to a considerable height with poles and anajá palm fronds. A tiny opening, barely sufficing for the interne to crawl through, connected yard and cell. In one of the outermost nooks of the yard was the latrine (ikwįrčą)—a pit ¾-m. in depth, covered except for a slit with billets of wood, a mat laid across the slit completing the closure.

327 881 As soon as the preparations were completed every pepyé exchanged his resting place on the bedstead of his mother's house for the cell, which was occupied singly or by more individuals, according to the number of pepyé in each house. In Hąktokót's wife's house four persons were interned, including one of the girls.

Henceforth the pepyé remained invisible to their fellow villagers, staying in their cells from April 22 until June 14. They were as inactive as possible. Twice every day, at least, their kinswomen slipped ample food through the miniature front door of the cell. For the time being they were not allowed to bathe or to kindle a fire, though the nights happened to be rather cold then; they were to make shift with a minimum of sleep, were to be neither seen nor heard by anyone; their hair was not cut, and their bodies remained unpainted. They were forbidden to scratch themselves with their fingernails, substituting neatly carved rods (amnyikarē'nčą) [413] of miniature sword-club shape, which they usually carried behind their ears (pl. 35, *b*).

Only fellow novices—and even then only clandestinely at night—may enter a pepyé's cell. There is only one exception: since all intercourse with the outside world is effected through the errand boys, these have free access at all hours both to the cells and to the sitting rooms of the house. This statement at least defines the ideal conduct, to which many pepyé rigidly conformed, though others were guilty of frequent transgressions.

796 Properly the commandant-in-chief ought to punish incontinence, but such disci-
527 plinary action was rare and, in general, Kopkré's choice for this important office
881 proved rather unfortunate. Contrary to ancient custom, a fair number of pepyé
834 were already married, and these often sneaked off to their wives instead of spending
the night in their cells. Anciently, transgressors with wanton women would have been forced to eat large doses of pepper; and the Apą'nyekra seated the guilty couple publicly in the plaza, which was reckoned a disgrace. In 1933 the commandant could not strictly enforce the rule because he himself was an offender; one night I myself caught not indeed his wife, but a wanton slipping into his cell. The deputy was far more scrupulous; during the entire period of segregation he slunk off only on two or three nights to caress an infant daughter in his young wife's house.

At intervals of several days the pepyé secretly met at night in the courtyard of
881 the deputy or, at times, of the commandant—usually because of some gross breach
527 of the rules. The penalty, if inflicted, consisted of flogging by the errand boys acting
681 under the deputy's orders after a secret agreement between him and the comman-
867 dant. The errand boys accordingly always appear in public with their rods, which
are about 1.30 m. long, very thin, and flexible. At the meetings both the commandant and his deputy uttered lengthy admonitions and tirades mainly bearing on the rules of seclusion and marriage. Maintenance of the former insures a successful internment, that is, one by which the pepyé rapidly acquire, in native belief, the strength of men, being enabled to pit themselves in sport against the next older class—a matter of honor. The marriage regulations loom large, because formerly most of the pepyé married soon after the festival and moved into the houses of their mothers-in-law. In matrimony, too, the Indians' supreme rule is to avoid quarrels, let alone brawls, which were expressly branded as setting a bad example for the children, who are to be educated in the traditional mores. A spouse's industry is represented as prerequisite to a happy union, but the harangues also refer to the faults of some girls, such as frivolity, laziness, and mendacity. Further, the lectures extend to the proper behavior toward kin, especially toward the wife's relatives, to the formalized friendship bonds, and to the prerogatives of elders, who are always to be treated with reverence. Thievery and lying are denounced.

183 Actual conduct, it must be admitted, more or less deviates from the ideals
881 preached, nevertheless the reality of the standards is certain; and to judge from the
spontaneous remarks made to me by various pepyé, at least under the influence of the ceremonial setting, many of the youths took them very seriously.

The commandant is responsible to the council for the demeanor and prosperity of his pepyé, being blamed if the young men fall short of the standards, physical and moral, at the close of their initiation.

881 Between 3 A.M. and 10 P.M. the catcher makes about five daily circuits through all
527 the houses of internment. He carries a thick, heavy cane, 1.65 m. in length, not club-
fashion under his arm, but so as to lean on it in walking. In the daytime he takes his stand before the cell, at night before the door of the house of retreat, facing the plaza, and remains silent for one or two minutes, both hands laid on the upper end of his cane. Then, rocking his body to and fro, he loudly utters his "hinkō" cry, "hō! hō–ō!" At the last "ō!" he stamps with his right foot, waits immobile for another minute, and then passes on to the next house.

881 Besides the scratchers (pl. 35, *b*), shared with all other persons who for some
531 reason have to go into a ceremonial retreat, the pepyé have two objects peculiar to
their seclusion and made only during this period.

293 Their club (koppo) is a narrow board, 4–6 cm. wide and 60–112 cm. long, with the

x796 lower end pointed on the sword-club pattern; the upper end, which is sometimes
881 decorated with openwork over a span in length and often very prettily, terminates
in comblike tines 4–6 cm. long (pl. 36). A soft sound is produced by moistening the
531 skin on the inside of the upper arm with the tongue and stroking it back and forth
293 with the tines. This sound is the signal by which the pepyé identify themselves on
mutual visits at night.

A second object often found in the hands of pepyé, but otherwise only rarely
881 (as a children's toy), is the bull-roarer (pĩkwęk) (pl. 35, *e*). After nightfall and
527 before daybreak the class leader should swing the instrument, the alarm being
passed on from cell to cell to make sure that its inmate has not fallen asleep, in which
534 case the commandant would punish him. This was the subsequent statement of the
commandant who had functioned in 1933, but during that festival the signal was certainly not given with regularity, but at best now and then. As a participant I only occasionally heard the booming sound for a few moments and did not learn its meaning until later. Once I overheard the following dialogue between two pepyé, which the commandant's explanation elucidates: "Did you hear my bull-roarer this noon?" "Yes!" "I thought you were asleep."

That the bull-roarer was part of the insignia peculiar to pepyé is indicated by the term pepyetokárĕą in the speech of the Čą'kamekra, nowadays extinct as a separate tribe, whose specimens were considerably larger and of more careful make than their present Rąmkō'kamekra equivalents. It seems clear that the comparative insignificance of the bull-roarer at initiation does not represent its original role.

881 A pepyé in retreat carefully extends the lobes of his ears to fit them for the ear-
304 plugs (kúi) (see pl. 4, *a–c*). From time to time the youths widen this part of the
ear, which is developed into a loop of skin, by inserting both their forefingers and
805 then twisting the loop; at intervals of a few days the plugs are superseded by new
and somewhat bigger ones.

The deputy daily notched a four-edged stick (amkrópupunčą, day counter) to keep tally of the days elapsed since the capture of the pepyé (pl. 35, *g*).

The pepyé passed the time with various diversions: one of them constructed a
881 ventilator wheel, another carved a model of the type of motorboat plying on the
517 Mearim, still others plaited little baskets, bags or mats of anajá grass, which they
used in their subsequent parades and camps.

881 Sometimes when the village lacked meat, the pepyé furtively marched into the
685 steppe to hunt. On one trip they stole a neighboring farmer's ox; the council by no
means sanctioned this procedure, but had the errand boys bring the two chief malefactors to the plaza and gave them a terrific reprimand, so that they stood there quite abashed, notwithstanding the supercilious bearing at first assumed by one of the culprits. At night, before all their fellow novices, the two commandants once more subjected them to prolix harangues and reprimands.

881 Thus the weeks passed. In the meantime the wakō'kama, being the youngest of
the eastern classes and hence the novices' opponents, gathered daily in the western
527 vų'tę''s house and arranged many log races with the next older pōhį'kama class
camped on the west side. These latter, using the eastern vų'tę' house as their lodge, belong to the same team league as the pepyé of 1933, whose subsequent position would also be on the west side of the plaza, to the north of their predecessors on that side.

Inspection of new leaders.—About 4:30 P.M. on May 23, the pōhį'kama and wakō'kama classes (western and eastern, respectively) began to dance jointly in the plaza, while the hąpín and pinčwę'i of the eastern leader of the pepyé assembled

X796 527 881 before his house of seclusion. The hąpín faced the plaza in one line abreast, held their clubs horizontally in front of their bodies, and joined the ends of the clubs so as to form a single pole, which they raised and lowered while dancing. In the meantime the pinĕwę'i indulged in their customary mischief before the house. The catcher, accompanied by his pinĕwę'i, who from time to time splashed him with water from a gourd bottle, trotted along a radial path from the seclusion house to the dancers in the plaza, halted before them for a moment while rubbing together the palms of his hands, and returned to the house. Soon the two age classes slowly started toward the house. The catcher constantly trotted back and forth in the manner described between them and the house of internment until they reached its door. The hąpín allowed access to the two groups, which entered and, singing, took positions to the right and left of the door, facing the cell. Now the novice's maternal uncle stepped forth and three times uttered a very loud, piercing yell. Forthwith the eastern leader's face appeared at a tiny window, hitherto closed with a mat on the inside, and immediately disappeared again behind the mat; the window had been specially left for this purpose in the front wall of the cell. The age classes then returned to the plaza, but the hąpín and pinĕwę'i of the novices' western class leader ran along the boulevard to his seclusion house, where the same ceremony was repeated. Then the two leaders' kinswomen put food outside the officers' houses of seclusion, and the leaders' hąpín and pinĕwę'i distributed it among themselves.

Four days later, on May 27, at the same hour, the wakō'kama class assembled in the plaza. They sat down in two lines facing the seclusion house of the eastern leader. The latter's uncle, who is also the commandant of the wakō'kama, and a hornblower sat in the rear, the class leader, Yóro, and a precentor with a rattle (pl. 32, *b, c*) were seated in the front row, while the catcher went from house to house, uttering his hinkō call, whereupon he led them to the eastern leader's seclusion house in the manner followed at the first inspection. However, this time they halted before the house; only the uncle entered and three times uttered the piercing yell. At once the grass of the front wall of the cell opened, rendering visible the leader's entire figure. The catcher approached, seized him by the hair, and pulled him out, whereupon two of his hąpín seized him by his right and left arm, respectively, and led him near the house door, whence he hurried back into his cell. After the wakō'kama had returned to the plaza, the western leader was inspected with similar ceremony.

Procession with mats; ablutions.—Shortly before sunset the eastern leader left his seclusion house. On the path along the rear of the dwellings he walked west and south around the village, carrying only a flat club under his arm. Ahead of him walked Yóro (the wakō'kama leader), holding the ceremonial pepyé lance (pl. 31, *c, d*) made by the eastern leader's maternal uncle; this emblem he moved to and fro in front of him as though removing obstacles from his path. As soon as the pair had [285] walked past, the pepyé came out of all their retreats and followed behind. All of them had stuck their flat clubs as handles into anajá grass mats of more than a man's height; and they covered their left side with these huge shields so that they themselves remained quite invisible to the villagers, who could see only the itinerant mats headed by the two class leaders.

After the completed circuit the parade entered the eastern leader's yard, while the wakō'kama pounced upon a big meat pie offered to them there, each member trying to obtain a piece. In the meantime the novices remained immobile behind the mats, but after the departure of the wakō'kama they removed their clubs from the mats, which were put on the ground, and sat down on them. The eastern leader x796 pushed the ceremonial lance into the ground in their midst and in a speech admonished them to be orderly and obedient.

527 881 At nightfall the pepyé of the atų'k moiety, using the path outside the house circle, dispersed to their several huts; but the pepyé of the ką' moiety waited until daybreak, since night belongs to the atų'k and the daytime to the ką'.

[515] Before sunrise all pepyé received through the fence of their yard enormous gourd bottles specially made and filled with water by their kinswomen on the previous evening. With this they washed themselves for the first time since their capture. Henceforth the ablutions, which are designed to promote rapid growth recur twice daily.

527 881 536 *The monkeys' visit.*—On June 21, at 5:30 P.M., the wakõ'kama and the unofficial class of the as yet uninitiated pąntų'ktíkama boys assembled in the plaza with half a dozen young wantons. They painted their bodies black, drew wide, black horizontal stripes above the eyes, and tied bast tails with spirally coiled ends to the back of their belts, thus simulating monkeys (kukóe). Suddenly they hurled themselves on all fours, and thus sped in a dense troop along the radial path to the eastern leader's house of retreat. Crying like monkeys, grimacing and gesticulating, they took the yard by storm, some climbing the lofty fence with truly simian agility, while others broke through it. In every yard food had been deposited in readiness for them, and they at once took it along. After wildly carrying on their antics in the first house, the whole mad four-legged company rushed to the next, and so on from the west northward round the entire circle. When this performance was over two "nocturnal monkeys" (*Aotus trivirgatus*, Humboldt) appeared in the dark and also received some food. The pepyé remained in their cells hidden from the monkeys throughout the whole of this act.

527 881 *Inspection of pepyé.*—On July 12 all the men whose sisters' sons were in the pepyé seclusion, assembled in the plaza, ranging themselves by plaza groups. When all were present, the six companies amid loud shouting, suddenly dashed off simultaneously, each to the retreat of some member's nephew. Invading the yard by way of the fence, they took up positions in front of the rear door of the cell. The novice's uncle stepped ahead of the others and uttered three loud and piercing yells, whereupon the boy called came crawling out of the tiny exit. No sooner had he appeared, however, than his uncle bawled at him anew, chasing him in again. In this fashion each plaza group treated all the affiliated pepyé, then they returned to their plaza stations and withdrew after a given signal.

[145] Notwithstanding the lightning rapidity of this inspection, everyone was bound to be impressed with the physical transformation of the novices during their three months' internment. With only a few exceptions they had grown perceptibly stouter and their skin, unaffected by either sunshine or paint, often displayed amazingly light tints.

Suspension of internment.—Two days later, on July 14, long before daybreak, the catcher continually made his circuit, uttering his hinkõ' cry. The pepyé, on the other hand, painted themselves from head to foot with the yellow pigment from the urucú root. On this background they then added in red urucú paint, the lines identifying them as ką' or atų'k, respectively.

At 5:30 A.M. the scene of the catcher and the wakõ'kama performed on the afternoon of May 27 was repeated: the former, running back and forth, conducted the class to the retreat of the eastern leader, whom he pulled out by his hair. At once the novice's uncle approached, screaming at his nephew to keep still, that he himself had experienced the same treatment in his day and had gladly submitted to it. In

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the meantime the pepyé's sister several times stroked his hair with the rod comb exclusively designed for this ceremony, finally turning it over to one of the novice's near-by pinčwę'i, who hung it down her back by a neck cord. The catcher now led the pepyé to the door of the house, while his sister was allowed to choose whatever two men she pleased from the crowd of spectators, pulling them along by their hair and placing one on each side of her brother. The sisters are prone to select men with whom they are enjoying or wish to enjoy intimate relations. The two men catch hold of the novice under his arms and conduct him toward the right around the boulevard, his pinčwę'i women taking precedence and, as always in these circumstances, indulging in drollery, while the entire populace accompanies the parade. As the procession moves along the boulevard, three or four anajá palm fronds are hurriedly planted in the ground in front of the house of seclusion and a mat is laid in front, while the pepyé's mother scatters fruits and other victuals in the space before the house. Meanwhile the parade had reached the house façade diametrically opposite to the house of seclusion. At this moment all participants raced transversely across the plaza back to the seclusion house, where each tried to snatch up all he could of the food scattered on the ground. The two men guiding the eastern leader now took him on their shoulders, each alternately carrying him to the mat under the palm fronds, where they set him down.

The same procedure was followed with all the pepyé except the commandant, who for the time being remained interned. However, only the two leaders and the two girl associates were carried to their retreats, the rest being led back afoot. But several pepyé tore themselves free and raced with the crowd unless recaptured on the way. Three or four times the men refrained from racing, leaving the scattered fruits for the women. This performance continued until all the pepyé were standing on the boulevard on the mat under the palm fronds in front of their several retreats.

Next four men successively made the circuit of the village. First came Koipõ'ro, the põhį'kama commandant, who danced before every retreat with outstretched arms and sang a song informing the novices' mothers and sisters that the internment was herewith ended. Second came old To'pó, who halted before each pepyé, rubbed his own left armpit with his right hand, then stroked the novice's face in the manner customary at the ketúaye (p. 177). Third, the snake doctor, Paté, examined the eyes of all novices to ascertain whether any of them was destined to die soon, which he supposedly discovers from the luster and expression of their eyes. Finally, Pąnhí, a young wakõ'kama, did not stop anywhere until he got to the eastern leader's retreat, where he loudly shouted across the plaza. Thereupon all the pepyé, who had until then been standing motionless on their mats, disappeared into their retreats.

In the evening the eastern leader, holding the pepyé lance, and walking along the ring around the back of the houses, assembled all the pepyé, who followed him, shielding themselves with their mats from the gaze of the villagers. Moving from house to house, they received food from their mothers and sisters, which they took to a spot one hundred meters beyond the houses in the steppe to the north. There, masked by chopped-off bundles of twigs held in front of them, To'pó and the other prókama elders were lying in ambush. The eastern leader of the pepyé thrust his lance into the ground, while his followers formed a circle and laid the food on the ground as though wishing to eat here. But To'pó screamed at them that this was no time for eating, that they had better go to sleep at once. Immediately the pepyé abandoned the lance and the food to depart for a spot cleared of grass and shrubbery southwest of the village, about two hundred meters from the boulevard; there they rested during the night on their mats—the first night spent outside of their cells.

X796 On the same day I was presented with the pepyé lance; my "sister" Kra'napą'n carried it to the plaza and before the assembled people dubbed it "Patkró."

527 881 *Singing lessons.*—With the beginning of daybreak (July 15) the pepyé left their nocturnal camp for a spot in the woods along the Ribeirão Santo Estevão bank, three hundred meters above the road leading westward out of the village. There they cleared an area of about twelve square meters and made themselves at home. Early in the morning the chiefs, the precentor Partói, and a number of women went thither, headed by old To'pó, who sang, carrying his staff. I was invited to join the party.

The pepyé were seated on the ground in a circle, waiting for us, the girl associates lying a little to one side. We sat down on the east side of the circle. The women were holding themselves aloof. Everyone made a serious face, and at most soft whispering was audible. Four pepyé with rods in their hands stood guard among those seated to forestall improper conduct; they bear the title mehamárkate or ko'túmre.

527 881 533 539 To'pó stepped inside the circle. Facing east, leaning his hands on his staff and rocking his body back and forth, he intoned the iyeõ' chant, which is sung exclusively at pepyé:

iyeõ' iyeõ'! marére rererét hikoikwákam
! ! ! hummingbird in my sky
iyeõ' iyeõ'! marére ritere ame xikratúm
! ! ! my grandfather

Then he gave his staff to the deputy, who repeated the song in the same posture. Thus all the pepyé, successively stepping within the circle, sang the iyeõ' chant, the errand boys and the girl associates last of all. Chief Hąktokót, the supreme authority on initiations, sat beside me, criticizing the rendition. A man named Tepyét was undoubtedly the best singer.

Now the precentor stepped into the circle and intoned another song, which the two leaders repeated first, followed successively by all the other pepyé.

Next the two girls were taught the avaitipó series of three songs, which is also peculiar to this phase of initiation. Their two colleagues, the women once associated in the same way with the next older (wakõ'kama) class, who had come along for this very purpose, stepped beside them, while the deputy with a dance rattle joined the precentor, forming a sextet.

1. kačẽ're hipoktokwę' (heard in the song as : kače-a-ri lipokokwehe).
The star causes a conflagration.

This refers to Halley's comet in 1910, for the Indians were afraid that its tail would set the world afire. The men danced ahead with their rattles, behind them the girls abreast of one another. Raising and lowering the spread-out and slightly curved index and middle fingers of both their hands to about the height of the chest, they danced up and down for a while.

2. ipéyre kenkana nõ.
The duck on the stone lies.

At this song the men faced the girls; all danced simultaneously toward the center and again backward so as to separate, at the same time swinging their arms to and fro in front of their bodies and jerking their feet forward.

3. avar tik pó tepre
anajá palm belly wide and flat small fish
avar tik pó vetre
anajá belly wide and flat lizard

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This is the avaitipó chant proper, for in the singing the two initial words are pronounced avaitipó. The arrangement and step of the dancers were those of the second chant, but the performers did not swing their arms and legs. This closed the singing lesson.

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Races; cementing of formal friendship; chants.—After the departure of all visitors, the pepyé arranged a race with the miniature pąrare logs, 25 cm. long, which the catcher had secretly made for them and given to the eastern leader (pl. 35, *d*). Since no other age class was available as a rival team and the season precluded a division into ką′ and atų′k, the novices split up according to eastern and western plaza moieties. For the time being the pepyé are able to run only with the pąrare—and even with these only in secret, for the wakō′kama would not permit the manufacture of true full-sized race logs, and would confiscate even the pąrare if they should discover them.

In the afternoon, shortly before sunset, the pepyé marched back from their camp by the brook to the village, where they collected food in their mothers' houses. Henceforth this occurred daily at this hour.

On the same day the cells and fences of all pepyé retreats were dismantled.

Very early on the morning of July 17, Chief Kukrãčą′, old Koyapą′, the catcher, and an Indian named Korã′ went to the pepyé camp. They halted in the steppe on a path parallel to the edge of the wood and leading upstream, while the catcher went to call the pepyé camped near by. These appeared, passed by without a word, and vanished except for the two girls, who stayed behind. I do not know how far they walked. In the meantime Korã′ made two brooms of pau de leite twigs, which he handed to the girls, who expectantly took their stand across the path. Not long after this the blast of horns resounded, and the pepyé, their bodies and especially their faces blackened with charcoal, came rushing up, headed by the champion singer, Tepyét. At once the newcomers, propping their hands on their knees, took places before the girls, who dealt their backs several lashes with the broom, allegedly to purge them of flabbiness. The deputy, who had long ago reached the goal, ran [681] back to fetch the last one of the racers. Running behind him, he constantly lashed his legs and back with the pau de leite twigs, and the vexed expression of his face clearly indicated his sense of responsibility for the disgrace of having such a weakling in his class.

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His annoyance found vent in a long and vehement tirade delivered at his age mates, ranged about him in a semicircle. He ascribed the poor result of the race to their failure, despite all his admonitions, to obey the rules of seclusion, and bitterly complained of their disobedience. At last he himself joined the semicircle, and old Koyapą′ now held forth in a second harangue, alleging among other things that only Tepyét had rigidly adhered to the regulations, which was why he had beaten all the other runners. This, however, was a very inadequate statement of the facts, for Tepyét had been one of the cattle lifters and not long before had been threatened with the pepper penalty for spending every night with his pretty young fiançée Yarpót rather than in his cell.

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Somewhat abashed, the pepyé marched to their camp in the woods by the stream, where they crowded about a water hole in order to cement the two types of formal friendship (p. 100 ff.). All pepyé formed several alliances of these types among themselves. For my own hąpín I acquired the two class leaders, the errand boys, the unavoidable Tepyét, and two others; the deputy and three others became my kwų′nó; and of the two girls, Horarák became my pinĕwę′i and Koté my kwų′nõ′.

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After the establishment of formal friendships, a many-branched tree was chosen

796 527 881 in the pepyé camp, an old race log was set up under it, and about one meter above it a crossbeam was tied to the trunk for a rung, making it easy to climb to the top. Then, one at a time, the pepyé all climbed up about ten meters among the branches, where each singly sang the iyeõ′ chant "like the falcon which sits in a tree and utters its call." Then the two girls with two companions as precentors sang the avaitipó series in the camp.

In the evening, after collecting food from their mothers' homes, the pepyé took it to the resting place southwest of the village, where they had spent their first night after seclusion was suspended. Toward 8 P.M., after the dance in the plaza, when all was quiet, they stood up in a circle there, the two girls in the center and the precentor Partói in front of them. Rhythmically rocking their bodies from right to left, they thus sang with brief intermissions till daybreak (July 18). A number of kinswomen were sitting or lying by fireplaces outside the singers' circle. At the close of each song two or three of the older pepyé would always bawl into the darkness these words: "There thou liest on the ground, race log, nevertheless I shall carry thee to the village!" The younger ones would shout, "Now thou art still feeding, pereá, but soon thou wilt be in my power!" At daybreak they return to the camp by the wooded bank.

Hunt and race; pó payments.—A little later the old prókama went to a site near the creek about one kilometer above the village. Many women and girls assembled there by an oven in which they were baking sweet potatoes and cará. In the meantime the pepyé were on a hunting trip with two bows specially made by their leaders' maternal uncles. They killed a pereá and a small bird, put their kill into the little baskets presented to the girl associates by their maternal uncles, and with the blowing of horns marched in single file toward the site of the oven. They surrounded the baked fruit lying about on the ground, but the prókama again yelled at them from their ambush of branches, whereupon the two girls at once deposited the baskets, and the leaders their bows and arrows; then all marched upstream and disappeared. The two girls remained behind and, armed with pau de leite branches, again took up positions transversely across the road. Before them were two huge new gourd bowls (kratti) decorated with pendants of beads; the water inside the containers had been perfumed with pulverized leaves of the negra mina tree. In addition there was a gourd bowl filled with an infusion of the scraped wood of the [824] sucupira tree, which has a horribly bitter taste. This tree is reckoned by the Timbira as the quintessence of strength and toughness.

The pepyé came running back decorated with black paint, Tepyét in his atų′k decorative paint again outdistancing the rest. The girls administered the usual blows on the back and were about to pour perfumed water from the hollows of their palms on the runners' heads, but Tepyét curtly emptied the bowls. However, he and all the pepyé drank of the sucupira infusion.

[123] Then they returned to their camp, where they slept part of the afternoon. The rest of the day was spent in making earplugs and the like in order to pass the time. They also made me tell tales of other tribes, for my new hąpín and kwų'nõ′ had laid claim to me and would not let me go until it was time for us jointly to visit the village for a food collection.

Toward evening specially prepared hampers (kái) were set up in front of all the late houses of seclusion. They were more than filled with vegetable produce reaching up to a man's height. To make this possible, they extended the walls of the basket upward by inserting and interlacing palm rachises, formed into a pointed funnel open at the top and kept in shape by burity bast rings. To keep the baskets from

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tipping over, they tied them to rectangular frames of poles planted in the ground. The cultivated fruits, overflowing the edge of the hampers, constituted the pó, that is, the initiates' kinswomen's payment to the plaza groups that had erected and equipped the cells. In front of every house there were as many hampers as there had been pepyé in seclusion there.

Suspension of commandant's seclusion.—From July 14 to 18 the commandant was the only pepyé still in retreat. On the 18th the pepyé, after collecting food from their mothers' homes, marched about one hundred and fifty meters outside the village along the road going west. On the left of the route they built a fire, by which the two girls and the leaders lay down, while the rest—including the deputy—sat down in a circle in the middle of the street. In the center of the circle a burity stick, 1½ m. long, was stuck into the ground. Three ko'túmre with rods were standing among the sitters. One after another stepped into the center, laid his hands on the top of the stick, and softly uttered approximately these words: "Be careful! Our commandant is surely already making preparations. Obey his commands lest he beat us!" This was kept up, in turn, from nightfall until late at night.

At intervals of a few minutes one of the errand boys ran to the commandant's hut of seclusion to ask whether he was not coming soon. He answered brusquely that he wanted to be let alone and would come later. The boy trotted back with the message to the assembled pepyé, who at once sent his colleague on the same mission and with the same result. This continued till 11 P.M. At that hour the commandant quite abruptly and furtively rose, taking his rod, and sneaked unseen through the rear exit to the circle of pepyé sitting in the dark. Suddenly he jumped at them, crying, "You called me, and now you are all asleep!" The pepyé dispersed, and the commandant lashed the ground behind them with his whip, pulled the burity stick out of the ground, and hurled it aside. Then his deputy took him by the hand and led him some distance back on the road he had come.

While the deputy was returning to the pepyé, his superior walked back alone along the boulevard to his retreat, before which his kinswomen, hąpín, and pinčwę'i were waiting to decorate him. They tied two cloths folded together into bands round the middle of his body and made another into a forehead band. On his back he was made to wear a beaded cord with a little mirror. He wore a thick girdle of white cotton cords and two sashes of like material crossing each other on the chest. To each sash was fastened a cord 30 m. long, stretched and held on either side by ten persons of both sexes. Directly by the commandant stood one hąpín at each side, holding the cord with one hand and supporting the commandant's outstretched arm with the other. Ahead of the commandant and at his side walked his sister's daughter, Kentapí, holding a gourd bottle filled with water and a cloth for wiping off the perspiration. The entire group was facing the seclusion house and moved, laterally without change of front, in a westerly direction round the boulevard from the commandant's retreat, which lay at the north end of the settlement.

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The commandant extended his arms, spread his legs apart, turned his head left, and began rocking his body back and forth as though about to give it a leftward swing. At last he drew his right leg beside his left, then separated the left leg again, and thus, accompanied by all his followers, he moved slowly sideways from the retreat (a) toward the neighboring house (b). At first he sang the catcher's "hō! hō-ō!", then another song. From (b) he first returned to (a), then passed on to (c), returned to (b), advanced to (d), etc., thus boxing the compass of the circle. During this tour huge fires were kindled with the plentiful fuel yielded by the palm grass of the dismantled cells.

<796 527 881 The commandant, who had developed appreciable adipose tissue in seclusion, was perspiring pitiably; from time to time his niece handed him the water bottle, wiped off his perspiration, and massaged his legs whenever he seemed worn out. He was obviously entirely exhausted when at 3 A.M. (July 19) he finally completed the circuit at his retreat, where his pinčwę′i divested him of his ornaments, now her property, with which she refused to part despite all my inducements. The commandant entered the house to sleep—no longer in his cell, which was soon after removed, but on a platform bed in his sister Yatkré's sitting room.

Races; painting of pepyé.—On the same morning the men assembled in the plaza before sunrise, ranging themselves by plaza groups. On the previous day the eastern leader of the pepyé had handed the two miniature race logs (pąrare) to the commandant of the põhį′kama class, which, like the pepyé, is of the western age-class moiety, hence of the same racing team. Though the commandant had secretly buried the logs in the plaza, a member of the kupẽ′ plaza group mysteriously unearthed them, notwithstanding the wakõ′kama commandant's wife's sitting on the spot. At once hiding the pąrare in his armpit, he departed; and accompanied by all, including the pepyé, he went to a site one and a half kilometers away, beyond the Santo Estevão Creek. The pepyé, who had at first crowded round the bearer, now dispersed into relay groups along the route, so that only their two leaders, wearing their occipital fan of tail feathers (pąnyapį′; see pl. 35, *a*), accompanied the other classes to the starting point for the race. There each of the two took one pąrare, knelt down with it, and sang.

The race toward the village then started, the western classes—põhį′kama and pepyé—running on the right side of the track against the eastern classes—wakõ′kama and pąntųktíkama (uninitiated boys)—on the left. The latter won—thanks to Čąré, who once more proved the tribal champion. As always in pąrare races, the pepyé girls and their predecessors were stationed across the course and welcomed the runners with the customary flogging and pouring of water over their heads (pl. 30, *b*). Finally entered the pepyé leaders, carried astride the shoulders of two men and set down before the girls without flagellation or ablution.

At once the six plaza groups carried off the baskets of fruits allotted to each, bringing them from their former retreats to the plaza, where each group poured out the contents on their own stance, sorted, and distributed them. It is no easy task to distribute anything among nearly a dozen persons if the numerals in one's tongue do not extend beyond four. This accounts for the distributor, Koipõ′ro, scratching his head in despair and also for the number of raised forefingers on this occasion. [802]

After the initiates' first haircut in three months, they were painted blue-black with genipa and red with urucú. The design differs according to one's plaza group. It consists of a band a hand's breadth in width with figures repeated on both sides of the body front, from the cheeks down to the middle of the thighs, with narrow ramifications over the front side of the arms.

302 881 527 The pepyé ranged themselves on the west side of the village, to the right and left of their eastern leader's retreat, in six companies corresponding to the plaza groups; they were holding burity sticks (pure) 4–5 m. long. The men, grouped on the same principle in the plaza, ran toward the pepyé, carried off those of their own affiliation, and took them to the appropriate group assembly house, where they were painted. The commandant again formed an exception, being painted not in his own group's (čẹpre) lodge, but in his sister's house, his place of internment.

While being thus decorated, a pepyé lies motionless on his back, resting on a mat, x796 302 527 881 with any sort of support for his head and the hollows of his knees. For lines to be drawn, the genipa is laid on with cotton wads attached to the tips of little rods, whereas dots are put on with comblike wooden stamps (mehõ'kčą) (pl. 35, *f*). Any older member of the plaza group, preferably the pepyé's hąpín, will undertake the job, at which one or two young women or girls always assist; for though the plaza groups have no regular women members, some of the members' young kinswomen are always in attendance.

527 881 The genipa decoration yields rather pretty effects, but being executed with great care it begins to pall, so that a fair number of pepyé fell asleep on their mats as I did myself, and had to be awakened when the work of art was done. Then the subject would make his body rigid, allowing a classmate to raise his head and to help him up lest the movements of his limbs blur the moist drawing. After the genipa juice had grown tolerably dry, the decoration was completed with red urucú.

In the meantime Pąnhí, who had given the signal for the novices' retreat into their cells on July 14, sang a song before each house in turn:

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Yayumri rõ'rohõ kam nõ
? babassu leaf on it lies

When all plaza groups had completed the decoration of their pepyé, they simultaneously marched out of their meeting places holding urucú-stained "pure" poles, proceeded toward the plaza, where they formed a circle, with the two pepyé girls and a precentor facing each other in the center. The commandant was brought from his sister's house, but halted outside the circle with his deputy and the catcher. Thus they danced and sang two chants, then moved on to the čẽpre lodge, situated very nearly at the east point of the village and diametrically opposite the eastern leader's one-time retreat. While they continued chanting inside the house, two of their number went around the boulevard, assembling girls and young women by letting them touch the "pure" poles, by which they led them behind themselves. When all were together in the čẽpre lodge, they jointly departed singing and dancing around the boulevard to the east leader's one-time retreat, and thence to the plaza. The commandant and his deputy walked in step behind the dancers.

[522] In the meantime the as yet uninitiated pąntų'ktíkama boys had assembled in front of their vų'tę̧ (the western one, since they with the wakõ'kama occupy the east side of the plaza). The pepyé now suddenly ran in a body toward these boys as though about to call them to a race, but just as abruptly faced about to return to the plaza. Then they similarly ran to their own vų'tę̧'s house (the eastern one, for the pepyé are stationed beside the põ'híkama on the west side of the plaza). There they picked up a pair of old race logs as though about to race with them, but after a few steps they threw them away. At last they trotted back to the western vų'tę̧'s home and by couples began to race the pąntų'ktíkama from the space in front of the house to the plaza. Naturally the pepyé invariably won, but the comical seriousness and intense zeal of the little boys—some of them under six years of age—in trying to minimize the distance between them and their opponents aroused the councilors' mirth as well as their benevolent appreciation.

Immediately after this race the pepyé and wakõ'kama raced three times around the boulevard with two logs already previously used. At first the former seemed about to emerge as victors, but finally the older group triumphed by virtue of their greater endurance.

Pepyé camp; dances; log race.—Now the pepyé jointly went to the Santo Estevão woods, where they cut off large bunches of anajá fronds and dragged them to the plaza. There, round a fireplace, they arranged a site, which henceforth served

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as a camp at night; it lay in the northwest part of the plaza, their proper place a a newly initiated class—next to the pōhį'kama and opposite the station of the pąntų'ktíkama.

The sun was low when the pepyé girls with their predecessors of 1913 stepped out of the eastern leader's recent house of retreat. They were wearing white wristbands with thick cotton tassels and on their backs a little gourd bowl (kratre) with beaded pendant was hanging from a cord. Headed by an elderly precentor and a pepyé, both of whom were provided with dance rattles, they slowly moved toward the plaza, singing the Halley-comet chant, while a pepyé with a "pure" pole was constantly running between them and the plaza. This running back and forth is the ceremonial way of conducting people to a definite place for a public performance. On the plaza they took up their positions and sang the two other avaitipó chants. During these songs the new initiates' kin set down on the ground in their midst an iron cooking pot and diverse other gifts; the commandant added his bushknife with its leather sheath. After the chanting the girls' decoration was removed and, with the other presents, distributed among their pinčwę'i.

The pepyé, holding their "pure" poles, split up according to plaza groups, each of the six companies successively marching to the maternal homes of all their pepyé members, to receive bowls of food, with which they returned to their plaza site. Then they leaned their poles against a specially fixed horizontal beam resting on two forked branches, collected together all the food obtained, and waited for the deputy to distribute it. After segregating a goodly portion for the senate, he had one of his party carry it to the elders, while the pepyé jointly ate in their camp, a scene henceforth of daily occurrence at this hour.

After nightfall women and girls danced in the plaza as usual, the pepyé never participating at that time, but only before sunrise.

This took place for the first time on the next morning (July 21); as early as 3 A.M. the pepyé and wakō'kama were dancing in the plaza before the right and left wings, respectively, of the singing women and girls. The commandant and deputy of the pepyé stood behind their class and did not dance. The pōhį'kama and the little boys' class likewise were mere spectators from their stations. Noting that one of their female age mates, Ačukwę'i, was absent from the dancers' line, all the pepyé, including the commandant and deputy, ran to the truant's home, awakened her and took her to the dance ground.

Before sunrise the wakō'kama raced with logs against the pōhį'kama. Then the pepyé went to their vų'tę''s house, to fashion their second decorative outfit, not of babassu strips this time, but plaited of burity bast and comprising two-pointed forehead bands, armlets, wristlets, and sashes. The wakō'kama in the meantime assembled in the other vų'tę''s house. When their grass decoration was finished, the pepyé donned it and danced the mepikén dance around the boulevard. Abreast of one another in a long line, they clasped each other's shoulders, facing the houses. Loudly singing, they leaped in exact time, alternately toward the left forward and toward the left backward, so that the entire line slowly moved leftward round the boulevard. The movements were executed with such marvelous precision and uniformity as to produce a harmonious, unified effect for the long line of thirty-seven dancers. The commandant walked slowly behind them.

Then the wakō'kama, accompanied by many women and girls carrying gourd bottles with water to refresh the racers, marched to a site on the Santo Estevão, three kilometers to the northwest, where for several days past they had fashioned two enormous burity logs and soaked them in water to increase their weight. For

*796 this race was to prove to the pepyé that they were far from being as yet their elders'
527 peers. But on examining the logs, the wakō'kama found them too heavy even for
881 themselves, so that a section of the length of a span was chopped off each stump.

Meanwhile the pepyé assembled in the plaza, where their kin decorated them with folded cloths tied round their girdles and foreheads, with beaded cords and sashes of green tucum cords with diverse pendants. But hardly had they put on this outfit and got moving in order to follow the wakō'kama to the starting place for the race, when at the very exit of the village their pinčwę'i intercepted them in order to remove all these ornaments.

In the meantime the wakō'kama had deposited the two logs on the road beside each other and danced behind them, singing with arms raised in the manner customary for a challenging team expecting their opponents. No sooner had these arrived than both teams picked up their logs without delay and dashed ahead. The pepyé made desperate efforts and—thanks to their western allies of the pōhį'kama class—they succeeded in getting their log to the goal first. Though evidently exhausted by their excessive exertions, they refused to give any evidence of their condition and danced the mepikén dance before going for a bath.

Killing of a wild pig.—Toward sunset they reappeared in formation and danced around the boulevard in sections of from four to five members all abreast, stamping their feet and humming "like hummingbirds in flight." This announced to the owner of the tame taitetú pig destined for the pepyé banquet that her pet was to be killed on the following morning.

At daybreak of July 21 this was done in the usual manner. The pepyé and the other western classes (pōhį'kama and prókama) marched with the slain animal to a hut in a farm on the Brejo da Cebola, which empties into the Santo Estevão from the left, one and a half kilometers from the village. For lack of a second taitetú, the eastern classes (wakō'kama, kukrų'tkama, and kukóekama) killed a domestic pig, which was prepared for them in their vų'tę''s home. As always on such occasions, the kinswomen of the eastern age classes accompanied the western classes, and vice versa.

When the pepyé had crossed the Santo Estevão on their way, their commandant made them halt once more and form their line, whereupon he again admonished them and laid down the rules. Arrived at their destination, the pepyé got anajá leaves, which they spread out for bedding in the open rancho. However, none was allowed to fall asleep; anyone beginning to nod was roused by a gentle lash of the ko'túmre's rod. They spent the time storytelling and being painted with urucú by the girl associates. A little aside from them old To'pó (prókama) told the rest tales of ancient days, while the women and girls fixed the earth oven, dissected the taitetú, and made meat pies, of which the pepyé, however, received nothing.

In the afternoon, during the distribution of the pies, blasts on horns heralded the arrival of the wakō'kama. On this signal the pepyé and a group of eleven girls at once went some distance to the spot where one pair of logs was lying ready for the men and another for the girls. While the pepyé and the girls of their team were dancing behind the logs with raised arms, the wakō'kama—also accompanied by eleven girls—arrived, and the race started at once. First the two groups of girls took up their logs, the men following some distance behind, but, as always, reaching the goal first. Both the pepyé and their girls' team were beaten. The former had clearly not yet recovered from the tremendous exertions connected with the previous day's victory. Even before the race many complained of pains in their shoulders and legs. Nevertheless, they danced in the plaza after the race.

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Toward evening the two pigs were paid for in the usual fashion. The western age classes, with the pepyé, marched clockwise, the eastern classes contraclockwise, around the boulevard, receiving gifts from each one's maternal home as they passed by, these forming a contribution toward the indemnity. After completing the collection, they moved before the house of the owner of the pigs, depositing everything in one heap. Thereupon the pepyé and their racing allies, panting "like exhausted deer" and now and then stamping their feet, danced toward their plaza site, while the wakō'kama indulged in all sorts of buffoonery outside their vų'tę''s house. They played at "travelers' return": two lads, carrying baskets full of offal [524] and rubbish, came pretending to bring back gifts from the government on returning from a begging trip to the capital. Formally received by the others, they unpacked their treasures, such as an old rag, a rusty tin can, etc., and amid general merriment distributed them among those present.

Further races; naming of classes; discharge of girls and errand boys.—On the morning of July 22 the pepyé first of all danced in the plaza; later they ran another log race against the wakō'kama, but were once more defeated.

After dark they again danced in front of the house of their vų'tę. I came up, holding the ceremonial lance given me by the prókama, and they complained bitterly of the small number of girls who had come to their performance, notwithstanding the recruiting by two members sent round about the village to summon them. They begged me to fetch the truants with my ceremonial lance, which I did.

The next day (July 23) the pepyé and wakō'kama ran log races both in the morning and afternoon. In the interval and in the evening the pepyé danced before their vų'tę''s house.

On the morning of July 24 the pepyé and wakō'kama ran a relay race around the boulevard, then the former retired to the steppe, where for the first time since the opening of the festival they painted themselves with rubber latex and powdered charcoal. They also manufactured their third ornamental grass outfit, of which the typical part is a forehead cord with a long grass tail in the back of the head.

On their return from the steppe to the plaza, the pepyé as a now fully trained age class received from the council a new class name, viz., pōhįtíkama (pōhįti, big maize). At the same time there were changes of other class names: the pąntų'ktíkama (boys) were designated as kra'tą̄'kama (kra'tą̄, *Piaya* sp.); the wakō'kama henceforth were called kaprąnpotíkama (kaprąnpoti, small water turtle); and the pōhįtíkama changed their name to rópkama (rop, jaguar).

On the same afternoon the pepyé girls and the errand boys were discharged. The former took up positions on the boulevard about seventy meters in front of the novices (now pōhįtíkama), who danced toward them in leaps and surrounded them. Then the girls advanced some distance, waiting to be reached by the dancers, and so they continued around the boulevard until they got to the western vų'tę''s house, whereupon the novices went to the plaza and danced with a precentor before the two girls. After this performance the girls went separately to their homes, as did the errand boys. The pepyé continued to dance around the boulevard to the piercing sounds of their ocarinas.

Thereafter the girls, officially discharged, no longer took part in the daily activities of their class, though reckoned as affiliates as long as they lived. They rank as hąmrén. During the following days the newly dubbed pōhįtíkama and kaprąnpotíkama occupied themselves exclusively with dancing in the plaza and before their vų'tę' girls' homes.

Hōkrowatiyō'.—On July 27 considerable firewood was amassed from all direc-

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tions. The old precentor Ką'e meanwhile was carrying about fifteen balls from the juicy and somewhat elastic fibrous wood of the burity. These hõkrowatiyõ' balls when fresh are rather heavy because of their water content and are in appearance indistinguishable from peeled oranges. In my collection they dried and shiveled up so as to lose their shape.

After nightfall a fire was kindled on the northeast side of the plaza, where the unofficial boys' class had been camping, and there old Ką'e with a choir of the three junior age classes sang until after 11 P.M.

At 3 A.M. (July 28) the same group assembled on this spot, except that Ką'e, feeling himself unequal to the prospective exertions, was superseded by the younger precentor Pįtõ', who wore a rattle cincture tied below the left knee. Besides the fire around which the dance went on, there were five others of smaller extent at different spots along the margin of the plaza, which was thus brightly illuminated. Many spectators had sat down around these lesser fireplaces. On a mat, somewhat aside from the main fire, were the wooden balls. First the dancers ran yelling around the boulevard to gather together all their fellows, but with only partial success. Of the kaprąnpotíkama in particular the majority played truant.

The dancers formed a circle around the fire, singing with outstretched arms and stamping their feet at the close of every stanza. Soon the precentor, Pįtõ', went to the fire and lay down as though to sleep. But the dancers began to shout and one or at times two of them seized him by the feet and dragged him around the fire on his back. Pįtõ' offered no resistance, but as soon as released he stood up, calmly picked up five or six balls from the mat and threw them at his tormentors, who did their best to leap and turn aside so as to evade the missiles. As soon as a ball had reached its target, the man hit retired while the rest cried aloud, "vrrr!" Two boys collected the balls and replaced them on the mat. Pįtõ' stepped into the circle, and the whole scene was repeated anew. Some did not drag the precentor along the ground, but merely lifted him and set him on his feet.

Pįtõ''s marksmanship was uncanny: only three times during the two hours' game did a dancer succeed in evading all the five or six balls; mostly the very first or the second struck their man. Several times the dancers tried to lure their nonparticipating classmates, who were sitting some distance away by the fires, to join the game; if anyone refused, his back was pelted with a ball. This game continued till daybreak.

Kuką'kaiką'ra.—After sunrise the novices (põhįtíkama) went to the woods by the creek, where each one cut himself a straight and slender pole of pindahyba wood (kuką'), 4 to 5 m. in length. They brought the poles into the meeting houses of the six plaza groups, decorating them first by cutting out the bark in the shape of sundry stripes, rectangles, and triangles, and subsequently by charring. Since the fire attacked only the barked areas, complete decortication yielded black ornaments on a white background. The latter was then painted red with urucú. A pole thus ornamented is called kuką'kaiką'ra.

At 3 P.M. the pepyé (põhįtíkama) of the ketre plaza group came out of their lodge in the west, holding the kuką'kaiką'ra, and moved clockwise round the boulevard, joined by classmates of the other plaza groups as the parade came past the appropriate lodges. Several members of other age classes likewise joined.

In the meantime two põhįtíkama were decorated in the appropriate lodges with falcon down—one from the eastern čepre, the other from the western ketre group. The two pepyé girls, who are regarded as affiliated with these groups, were similarly ornamented and put on their new belts.

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In front of the aucét plaza group lodge the pepyé (põhịtíkama) appeared on the boulevard in two parallel rows beside each other. The right-hand line consisted of western, the left-hand of eastern plaza group members. Ahead walked the commandant with his kukạ'kaikạ'ra, followed a little to one side by chief Hạktokót, director of the whole initiation proceedings, who was holding a staff in his hand. There followed two precentors with rattle cinctures below the knee; as well as the leader and another member of the kaprạnpotíkama, who were carrying a reddened pole about 3 m. in length, holding it by its ends in a horizontal position. Between these two men three persons were holding the same pole: the aged precentress Kapekwę'i wearing the badge of her hokrepûi office, namely, the dance sash (hahí') made out of a wide cotton band with thick tassels; a young girl also with a dance sash; and the precentress Kupakrõ', famous for her zeal as a dancer and her exceptionally powerful voice. Behind these five pole bearers came the two lines of pepyé, and by the side of each youth, forming two further outer parallel lines, walked his actual or prospective mother-in-law, holding one end of a burity cord, the other end being fastened around her son-in-law's neck. (See fig. 14, pl. 40, *a*.) Thus the group advanced slowly clockwise round the boulevard, singing and occasionally retreating a little. When the procession had returned to its starting point, the women departed, but the pepyé took their kukạ'kaikạ'ra and once more headed by the two precentors, ran along the same route.

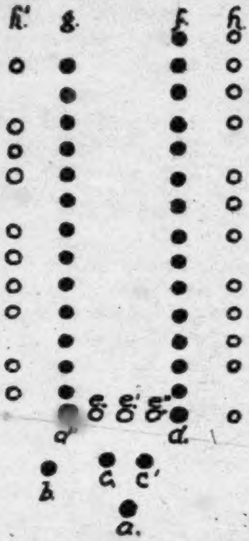

Fig. 14. Mothers-in-law leading sons-in-law. *a*, commandant; *b*, chief Hạktokót; *c*, *c'*, precentors; *d*, class leader of kaprạnpotíkama; *d'*, another member of the class; *e*, *e'*, *e''*, precentresses; *f*, pepyé of eastern plaza groups; *g*, pepyé of western plaza groups; *h*, *h'*, future mothers-in-law.

Then they marched to the plaza, ranging themselves in two divisions—the eastern and western plaza groups taking their proper places. The kukạ'kaikạ'ra were united in two bundles, that of the eastern group being set up on the *west* side, and vice versa, and each bundle held upright by one man. After Hạktokót, standing in the middle of the plaza, had uttered a cry, the two pepyé girls came running out of the ketre and čepre lodges, respectively, and toward the plaza, carrying in their hands an iron digging stick and a bunch of bast. Each deposited these objects by her party's pole-bundle, then several men hurriedly tied the poles together with the bast, while others used the iron tools to dig holes, into which they set the pole-bundles upright. The chief again called out, and immediately the two down-decorated pepyé simultaneously came dashing to the plaza from east and west, each trying to knock down the rival division's bundle before the other fell. The racer of the eastern plaza groups—of course, none other than Tepyét—got to the goal first, but stumbled over a hollow at the foot of the bundle and fell to the ground, so that his rival had a chance to get there in time to make the fall of both bundles precisely simultaneous.

A log race of the kaprạnpotíkama and pepyé concluded the kukạ'kaikạ'ra ceremony, and therewith the entire pepyé festival as well as the cycle of initiation begun in 1926.

There followed, however, two intimately related ceremonies.

796 881 527 *Girls' belts.*—On the morning when the pepyé pōhịtíkama were making their kuką'kaiką'ra in their plaza group lodges, the tucum cord belts (me'pré) manufactured for the pepyé girls by their mothers were suspended in front of their houses from the top of a pole 6 m. in height. However, before the sun grew too hot, the girdles were removed lest the girls after putting them on develop swellings in the inguinal glands. The girdles, still displaying the green coloring of tucum bast, were first worn by their owners when falcon down was stuck on them in preparation for the erection of the kuką'kaiką'ra bundles on the plaza, that is, on the afternoon of the same day.

Soon after the race at the close of the kuką'kaiką'ra ceremony a scene was enacted in the plaza, with Koté, the eastern pepyé girl, who was betrothed to her classmate Korégn, in the main part. Koté's maternal uncle had killed a deer and secretly brought it to his sister's home. At the hour mentioned a parallel cousin of Koté's mother, taking the quarry on his back and followed by Koté, carried it along the boulevard up to the house of Koté's paternal aunt, which was almost exactly opposite her fiancé's. Thence he followed the radial route to the plaza. Meanwhile all of Korégn's younger kinswomen had assembled before his maternal home and ran to meet the bearer of the deer as soon as he turned into the radial path. Many spectators were watching from their houses to see which of the girls would prove the swiftest. The racers seized the deer, dragged it to Korégn's maternal home and distributed it among themselves.

The next morning each of these runners brought some urucú pigment and babassu kernels to Korégn's mother's house. Koté, dressed in the girdle, which still showed the natural green coloring, joined them. The kinswomen rubbed a thick coating of urucú into the girdle, painted Koté herself with the pigment and then sent her home. Several days later the same procedure was followed with Hororák, the western pepyé girl.

Should a girl be neither betrothed nor married by the close of initiation—a thing that probably hardly ever occurs—the role of the husband's or fiancé's kinswomen in running toward the deer carrier would be taken by the younger age classes, and they would distribute the booty among themselves in the plaza, while the girl's mother would be dyeing the girdle red at her home.

Departure of oldest class.—The other ceremony relates to the elimination of the hitherto oldest class among the four active racing groups. This results from the now definitive localization of the boys' class (pąntų'ktíkama, later kra'tą̄'kama) on the northeast side of the plaza.

The Mummers' Festival

827 575 *Introduction.*—This is one of the three major festivals, one of which is chosen for performance during the years without initiations.

The Mummers (kōkrị't), one of the six men's societies (p. 95), comprise about thirty members, membership being transferred matrilineally together with the personal name. Their use of costumes is restricted to the period of the major festival bearing the name of the organization. This ceremony is celebrated comparatively rarely: about eleven years intervened between the last two masquerades (1924, 1935). Apart from this performance the members appear unmasked at the terminal solemnity of every vų'tę' period, but play an insignificant part then. For their leader they like to choose the tallest member so that his mask may tower above the rest. At present (1935) the incumbent is Yuá, the tallest of all Rąmkō'kamekra. The meeting place of the organization is on the west side of the village.

796 575 527 The term kõkrį't is not related to the words for tapir (kukrų't) and king vulture (kukriti), but is probably composed of kõ, water, and krįt, wild. It refers to a race of monsters that, according to legend, once infested the Rio Tocantins, but has retreated downstream since the ingress of Neobrazilians. The Indians still believe in the existence of these kõkrį't and repeatedly asked me whether I had not somewhere in the course of my travels encountered these monsters along some uninhabited river. The term is often combined with the diminutive (-re) and augmentative (-ti) suffixes; and to designate the costumes the speaker adds -ho (leaves, straw): kõkrį'trehõ', kõkrį'ttihõ'.

773 539 527 *Origin myths.*—The origin of the society is thus explained by the Rąmkõ'kamekra:

> The youngest age class was hunting on the Tocantins. As usual, an old man accompanied them. After they had killed and smoked a tapir, the commandant decided to return. When they had already covered a fair distance from the river, the old man recalled having left his bow behind. He asked several of the youths to run back and fetch it, but none was willing. Then at last the old man got angry and walked back alone.
>
> When he got to the river, he saw himself suddenly surrounded by the kõkrį't. One of these, who had noticed the hunters from a distance, had hurriedly turned back and summoned all his mates. These did not, indeed, find the hunters any more, but unexpectedly met the elder. One of the monsters dashed up, threatening to spit him on his horn, but the old man begged for his life on the plea of his age. Then Kenpéy, chief of the kõkrį't, came up, forbade the others to molest the elder, and shielding him under his fringed garment, led him into the kõkrį't, village. He treated him kindly and advised him to watch the villagers closely during their dancing. The old man took careful note of everything, finally returned after five days, had the Rąmkõ'kamekra make costumes of burity bast that looked exactly like the kõkrį't themselves, and taught them the dances and behavior of the monsters.

Another experience with the kõkrį't is recounted as follows:

> The kõkrį't were in the habit of gamboling about on the surface of the water and the sandbanks, producing a very disagreeable odor. One day the Indians noticed a young kõkrį't on a sandbank while the older ones were playing in the water. They ran up and kidnapped the young monster, supposing that the kõkrį't were agile only inside of the water and would find it awkward to run on land. But as soon as the old kõkrį't had detected what was going on, they dashed to the bank and pursued the abductors, who were fleeing with their booty as fast as they could. Ahead of all other kõkrį't ran Espóra, from whose wrath the Indians finally fled up a tree. He raged about its trunk and ran against it with his horns so that splinters flew off. Then the Indians were frightened and threw the young one back to him, and he went off with it.

The Pųkóbye, among whom I saw kõkrį't costumes in 1929, designated them simply as krowahõ', burity straw. Their origin tale is strongly reminiscent of the story by which the Rąmkõ'kamekra explain the origin of the tepyarkwá festival:

> Two hunters accompanied by their dog were pursuing a tapir. The beast fled to a big lake, plunged into its water, and swam away from the bank, followed by the dog. One of the hunters also jumped in and swam after them. The other remained on the bank; seeing the game and its pursuers getting farther and farther away, he called to his companion to come back, but his advice remained unheeded. Suddenly he saw piranhas (predatory fish, viz. *Serrasalmo* sp.) attacking and devouring first the tapir, then the dog, and finally the hunter.
>
> The piranhas had their village at the bottom of the water. When their chief heard what had occurred, he ordered his warriors to spew out all the flesh of the man they had eaten. This he had them lay on leaves and called the little piabinhas, the cleverest and ablest of all fish, so they might put the man's body together again. At once there appeared a school of these little fish and applied themselves zealously to the task, the chief standing by and urging them on. Soon the body of the man was again completely put together, and the piabinhas were allowed to depart. Now the chief summoned the suruby (*Platystoma* sp.), a magician, who resuscitated the man.
>
> In honor of the resurrected Indian a festival was arranged, at which there were also masked dancers. The man noted whatever took place and resolved to imitate the krowahõ' on returning to his village. When the performance was over, the fishes led him to the entrance of a cave under

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water, which led obliquely upward. It was the cave of the taitetú pigs. By this the hunter returned to the upper world, where he introduced the krowahō′ costumes among his fellow tribesmen.

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I probably misunderstood the final part of the myth when I heard it. Originally I assumed that the piranhas themselves had danced in masquerade, which was puzzling since this would still leave the origin of the masks unaccounted for. At present I conjecture that at the festival of the piranhas the hunter is supposed to see the kōkrį′t monsters themselves, whom he imitated in the upper world by using the krowahō′ masquerade.

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Costumes.—(See pls. 37–39.) A stick, 1 m. long, resting transversely on the crown of the wearer's head, and two somewhat shorter mats, plaited of split young burity leaves, which hang from this horizontal support, constitute a costume. The front mat is about ½-m. in width, the posterior one somewhat wider. Both are hexagonal, but with three of the sides so short that from a distance the effect is that of an isosceles right-angled triangle, the horizontal bar forming the hypotenuse. The sides and lower margin of both mats are bordered by a heavy fringe of long burity fibers. From the center of the lower edge of the anterior mat a slit a span in length extends vertically upward. On the inside a pair of plaited cords hangs from the lower end of this opening on either side, and by seizing them with both hands the wearer is able to move the edges of the slit.

To the posterior mat are fastened two horns of pau rôxo wood about 2 m. long which project obliquely upward and outward; they meet at the middle of the lower margin, forming a right angle, and extend beyond the ends of the transverse rod. By a chin strap the wearer ties to his head a pad of burity bast in order to relieve the pressure of the stick. He looks outside through the upper part of the slit. The front mat extends about to the middle of the chest, whence the fiber fringe so completely hides the body that even the masquerader's feet are invisible, at least when he stands at rest. Horizontally a tuft of grass a span in length projects from the middle of the posterior side; it represents a bunch of hair from the head tied together. On the front of the costume the eyes are painted with red and black pigments made of almecega rosin with urucú, and of this rosin with powdered charcoal, respectively. However, one type of mask lacks eyes, substituting a broad horizontal stripe.

The Rąmkō′kamekra themselves use eight types of kōkrį′thó (fig. 15, *a–i*) and ascribe three additional forms to other Timbira tribes (fig. 15, *j–l*). They call the foreign outfits by the same designations as the indigenous equivalents, only adding the suffix kahą′k (similar to). The kenpéy (headman) and ihōkē′n (clown) type are represented each by a single sample during a festival; the mekra tamtúato hők type always occurs doubly (for the girl associates); the remaining five types exist in from two to four specimens. In 1935 the membership of the society had been decreased by the smallpox, so that by way of an exception there was not a single costume of the tephothō′ type. The alien Timbira forms never figure at a Rąmkō′kamekra performance, which normally uses the following:

1. kenpéy (=echo), the leader's mask, lacks eyes, substituting a smooth, black forehead stripe along the lower side of the transverse rod (fig. 15, *a*). The posterior mat is painted with black animal figures, usually two monkeys, on the right and the left sides. Usually members other than the leader also put on kenpéy masks, which, however, are then distinguished by the jagged sawlike lower edge of the forehead stripe (fig. 15, *b*). This variant, also called krǭti (big head), likewise bears black monkey figures on the back.

2. tōkaivéu has for each eye three concentric black circles and a central point, the spaces between the circles being dyed red. In addition, this mask has circular ears painted on and bears a moustache of thin bast fibers at both sides of the slit (fig. 15, *c*). On the back there are two vertical rows of short, black double strokes.

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3. espóra (Portuguese espora, spur) lacks, at least nowadays, any aboriginal designation. Its eyes are rowel-shaped, its ears circular (fig. 15, *d*).

4. tephothö′ has horizontally extended hourglasses for eyes and occasionally a forehead stripe (fig. 15, *e*). The name designates an herb having double leaves resembling in shape the eyes of the mask.

5. hąká (= giboya, boa constrictor) bears two bands meeting at a right angle above the middle of the forehead; the bands have a black background with red diamonds. A narrow black stroke runs parallel to and outside each band (fig. 15, *f*). On each side of the back this costume has a stripe of black rings linked together chain fashion.

6. töhokpó (= flatly and broadly painted eyes) has black rectangular eyes, the oblongs resting on their narrow sides. Beside each eye there is a vertical stroke, sometimes connected with the rectangle by an intervening space dyed red (fig. 15, *g*). The back usually has on each side two fish, one above the other, but sometimes a kind of cross instead.

7. ihökë′n (= his bad grass) belongs to the kökrį′t society's clown. It is of poor material, moreover it is elaborated and patched together with studied negligence. There is no definite decoration, the eyes being painted in any desirable way so as to appear crooked and unsymmetrical. The horns are made of crooked and ill-fashioned sticks; sometimes one or even both may be lacking (fig. 15, *h*).

8. mekra tamtűa to′hók, the two girl associates' type, has two black double lines forming a right angle in the center above the forehead (fig. 15, *i*).

The three alien types are:

9. kenpéykahą′k. Each eye consists of two red triangles beside each other, the inner being larger than the outer (fig. 15, *j*).

10. tephothökahą′k. Its eyes are red, vertical, spindle-shaped forms; sometimes there are on each side three spindle-shaped strokes (fig. 15, *k*).

11. tohokpökahą′k. Has for each eye a minute red triangle standing on its apex (fig. 15, *l*).

The membership always includes several boys having correspondingly smaller masks of the same types.

No other types or variants occur among the Rąmkö′kamekra. Not only did I personally see no others, but I independently ascertained the facts by asking the kökrį′t to make pencil drawings for me of the forms extant. One man, Keča, thereupon drew the eight types shown in figure 15, including the krątí variant of kenpéy. The three alien types were not recognized as officially acceptable.

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This result requires emphasis because the account by Snethlage, who visited the Rąmkö′kamekra in 1924 during a Mummers' festival and was the first investigator to describe their costumes, in part sharply deviates from what I have seen and collected.[illegible] My observations support the following comments.

Concerning his figure 22,[illegible] the horns are proportionately much longer and their upper ends are not cut off straight but taper to a sharp point. The pendent fringe ought to be much longer to be in proportion and should be open in the middle below the slit.

Snethlage refers to painted eyes of square or spiral form ("auf der quadratisch oder spiralig die Augen aufgemalt waren"). As the sketches and my collections demonstrate, not a single mask has square or spiral eyes, though those of the töhokpó are rectangular and those of the tökaivéu are formed of concentric circles. The spiral simply does not occur in Rąmkö′kamekra decorative art. When I painted a mask with spiral-like eyes for the Indians, they declared that they were unfamiliar with any such specimen.

Snethlage speaks of a transverse slit for the mouth ("der Mund häufig durch einen Querspalt angedeutet"). I have never seen a transverse slit on a mask; and when I asked the Indians to make me a mask with such a one, they evidently regarded this as a joke. Snethlage's figure 22 shows only a vertical slit, and a little

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[illegible] Snethlage, Meine Reise, 465, 466; Nordostbras. Ind., 181, 187.

[illegible] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 181.

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farther on he remarks, "Die Sprache erschöpfte sich in gewissen Bewegungen des *Nasen*spaltes." Why not "*Mund*spaltes" if such a one were present?

He assumes erroneously, and not on the basis of any statement of mine, that the costumes I collected were derived from a later age-class festival ("einem späteren Altersklassenfest"). As a matter of fact, kökrį't costumes are in no way connected with age classes.

"Andere Masken hatten statt der beiden seitlichen Holzstangen, den sogenannten Hörnern, einen blitzartig gebogenen Draht in der Mitte." The author orally reaffirmed this observation in answer to a query of mine. The Indians themselves told me they were not familiar with any such appendage. I can merely suppose by way of explanation that the clown of the organization, whose mask lacks horns, jocularly substituted the wire.

Snethlage explains the differences between his observations and my own by assuming an actual change in the form of costume during the interval between our respective visits (1924, 1929). This seems highly improbable. In the first place, even if aboriginal conservatism had lightly permitted such alterations, the fact remains that during the period in question there had been no Mummers' festival at which a modification could have been decreed. Secondly, the Mummers vehemently declared that the costumes were always made in the same manner, in consonance with ancient tradition.

The illustration in Snethlage's paper (Nordostbras. Ind.) suggests to me that at least in part the author put his observations in writing when he was no longer able to observe the masquerading directly; in consequence, I assume that he was probably no longer able to recall all the details with precision.

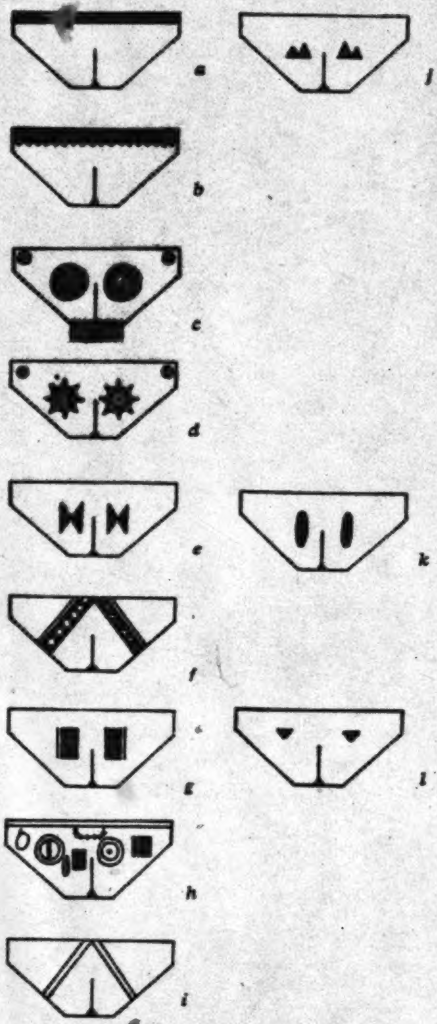

Fig. 15. Decoration of masquerade costumes. *a–i*, Ręmkö'kamekra: kenpéy, kräti, tõkaivéu, espóra, tephothõ', hąká, tehokpó, ihõkẽ'n = clown, mekratamtúa tohók. *j–l*, foreign: kenpey-kahák; tephothõ-kahák, tohokpó-kahák.

535 575 527

I have seen kökrį't outfits also among the Pųkóbye, the Krahõ', and the Timbira of Araparytíua.

On entering the Pųkóbye (Gaviões) village of São Feliz (upper Pindaré) in

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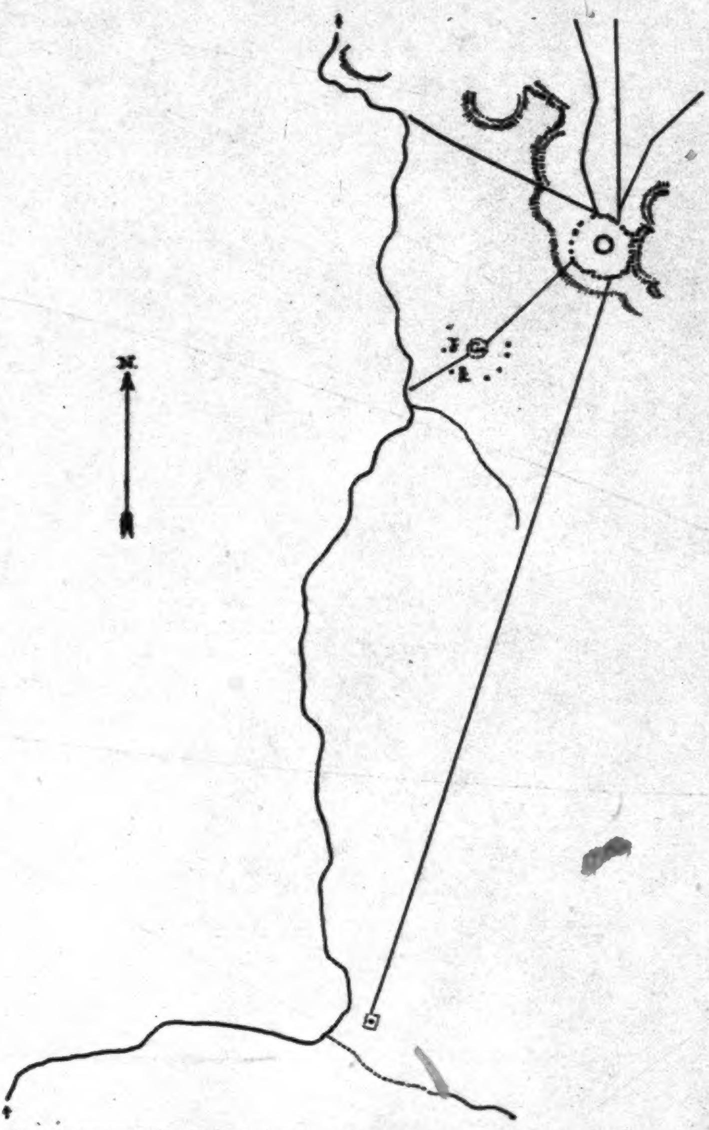

Fig. 16. Mummers' festival, chart showing fire of Agouti society (C); of Jaguars (Y); of Mummers (K). The straight line to the north of the settlement (Baixão Preto) leads to Barra do Corda, the bent line west of it is one of the race tracks, the marks east of C and K indicate an abandoned village, the watercourse to the west is the Santo Estevão, its junction with the straight line from C southwest marks the bathing site; the dotted rectangle in extreme south is the mask hut.

X796 January 1929, I found that the festival was over. I discovered only a single small
527 mask, the rest having been destroyed in order to make the constituent parts fit for
575 other uses. The specimen corresponded to the tõhokpó of the Canella, but the verti-
535 cal line beside the black rectangles of the eyes was red. In the rear the place of fish figures was taken by glued-on feathers, black in the middle and red toward the sides.

The Krahô' whom I visited in their villages on the Manoel Alves Pequeño (1930) told me about their dance costumes and at my request manufactured one, which corresponded to none of the Rąmkõ'kamekra types. The front mask was strikingly narrow, being only about 20 cm. in width. The eyes consisted of large red triangles with a black center; the bases were coterminous with the lower edge of the mat. There were brush-shaped (*pinselförmige*) ears, and the very thin horns extended not over the tips of the transverse bar but rather toward the center.

Most of all did the Araparytíua Timbira masks diverge from the Rąmkõ'kamekra type, though the last samples, which I saw on the upper Gurupy in 1914 in very poor condition, bore an equivalent designation (ku'xid = kõkrį't). Like the Kayapó and Karayá masks, these were high, more or less cylindrical headdresses with a fringe hanging down from the lower margin. There were traces indicating that feathers had been glued on. On top there were still two thin, almost parallel horns ½-m. in length.

575 *Initial steps.*—The society itself, I learned, had taken the initiative in stimu-
527 lating the performance of 1924. Its leader, no longer living, had summoned the members to their assembly house on the west side of the village and asked whether they were unanimously in favor of the undertaking. On an affirmative reply he announced the decision to the councilors in the plaza, who gave their consent.

In 1935 the younger generation, above all the põhįtkama headed by Kapẽrtúk, had decided to hold the tepyarkwá, but the elders substituted the kõkrįthõ' despite Kapẽrtúk's manifest displeasure and his inclination to offer passive resistance, which, however, was of brief duration and not seriously meant.

As soon as the Mummers' festival is definitely decided on, the two societies invariably collaborating with the kõkrį't also assemble in their respective meeting places: the Agoutis in the maternal house of the eastern vų'tę'; the Jaguars, led by their headman, the Black Jaguar, in the western vų'tę' house. Thereupon all three societies each choose two girls as mekuiẽwę'i for the festive period (pl. 37, *c*).

[343] *Making of costumes.*—Now the kõkrį't erect a shed by a brook near an adequate number of burity palms yielding the raw material, and there they work daily at manufacturing the masks (pls. 37, *a*, *b*; 38, *a*). In 1935 this hut, a rather carelessly built gabled rancho, was two kilometers south of the aldea and upstream. As it hardly rains at this season, no pains were taken to provide adequate covering, a thin layer of palm grass that afforded protection from the sun being deemed sufficient. Mostly the members worked outside in the scant shade of the steppe trees. Nonmembers were not exactly forbidden to approach, but their presence without urgent cause, from sheer curiosity, is held improper. Except for the two girl associates, who customarily attend during the day, women are never to be seen there.

Since this work does not form the members' only occupation it consumes over a month, during which time they do not take part in log races and refrain from painting themselves with urucú for fear of soiling the material. Lacking special reasons to the contrary, the Mummers, before attacking their daily labors, join the Jaguars and Agoutis for the following performance.

Jaguar and Agouti play.—Shortly before sunrise, just after the regular morning dance in the plaza, the three societies depart for a bathing hole on the Santo

X796 575 527 Estevão six hundred meters from the village, where they jointly bathe. Thereupon each organization assembles separately at its own fireplace, some two hundred meters back of the bathing hole (fig. 16). The Jaguars and Mummers are the first to leave for the village, trotting along and yelling. In the village the Jaguars enter their lodge in order to decorate themselves with black paint, while the Mummers take their stand around the edge of the plaza. Immediately thereafter the Agoutis come running toward the plaza, where they begin by circling around in a hop step. Then they take a stand facing the Jaguars' lodge, put their hands against their knees, and yell.

There follows the Little Falcon's performance, which also marks the terminal ceremony of the vų'te' season (p. 166). The Little Falcon always appears exclusively in conjunction with the Agoutis and Jaguars, the former having for their essential function that of teasing the latter, who try to catch their tormentors.

The Little Falcon's office is matrilineally inherited. In 1930 the incumbent was so small that he came in straddling the neck of his hąpínpey, who vicariously performed all the appropriate ceremonies for him, the boy's mother walking alongside of her son, whose body had falcon down stuck on it.

After the procession of Agoutis and Jaguars and the posturing of the former as described above, the Agoutis face west. One of them, stooping, runs to the house of the western vų'tę'—the meeting place of the Jaguars—and thence fetches the Little Falcon, who takes his stand in the center of the plaza. Then he squats on his heels, raising his right arm as though it were a wing, inserting a whistle between his lips, and with it imitating the falcon's call while the Agoutis dance in a circle around him. Thereupon the Agoutis bring the Little Falcon back to the Jaguars' lodge, whence they return racing toward the plaza. The Little Falcon, however, goes to the eastern vų'tę' house, the Agoutis' lodge. As soon as he has disappeared there, the Agoutis utter their cry, to which the Little Falcon responds by whistling.

Suddenly one of the Agoutis dashes at a dead run toward the Jaguars' lodge, whence he brings the Little Falcon, who trots whistling toward the plaza, squatting down in its center and spreading one arm wing-fashion, while the yelling Agoutis surround him. Then he runs back whistling toward the Jaguars' lodge, whose members receive him with a patter of feet. While the Agoutis swarm about the plaza shouting, the Jaguars come up in a trot and take up positions in the arc of a circle near the margin of the plaza. Their leader, the Black Jaguar, stands in front, their girl associates behind. The Jaguars assume a crouching posture, with their clenched fists extended forward beside each other, the back of the hands facing up. Suddenly the Black Jaguar raises his fists and indicates one of the roving Agoutis, against whom he advances with his fellows, trying to surround, catch, and throw him down. The menaced Agouti seeks safety either in some house or behind one of the Mummers scattered about the periphery of the plaza. This catching game is repeated with one after another of the Agoutis present; only the girl associates and members who happen to belong also to the hąmrén enjoy immunity. These, standing abreast in the center of the plaza and facing the Jaguars during the play, remain unmolested. At last the Jaguars retire to their lodge, whence they disperse. The Mummers then go to work in their shed, and the Agoutis make their exit.

[531] *Mummers' entrance.*—As soon as the masks are done except for the painted decoration, the Mummers decorate their bodies with black rubber pigment and bast bands, thus announcing to the villagers the impending entrance of the masqueraders. The next morning, having secured the requisite almecega rosin, the members paint their masks red and black—a task usually completed by noon (pl. 37, *b*).

X796 527 575 Shortly after midday the kōkrį't don their costumes and slowly move toward the village in Indian file. The first to appear on the wide street connecting the village and the mask shed is Ihōkĕ'n, the clown. As soon as he appears on the horizon, women and girls gather at the junction of the masqueraders' street and the boulevard. A delegate of the kōkrį't, but not a member, was carrying a gun and admonished these expectant spectators to preserve the peace: they were not to run out of the village to meet the kōkrį't, but were to wait on the boulevard, refraining from disputes over the ceremonial office of "maternity" (see below). In the meantime Ihōkĕ'n came trotting up and, on entering the boulevard, was surrounded by the girls, one of whom succeeded in tying to his horn a small beaded and tasseled bowl. This made her the clown's "mother" during the period of the festival. Ihōkĕ'n boxed the compass of the street, halting before every door and making his horns swing to and fro there. Then he ran back again on the masqueraders' street, and thus constantly back and forth between the slowly approaching Mummers and the village.

Finally the long line of kōkrį't arrived on the boulevard, headed by their leader in the kenpéy mask. In eager competition the waiting women and girls hurried to fasten to a horn of each mask some small ornament as a badge, such as had already been received by the clown. Those Mummers who recognized in the donors their sisters or pinčwę'i mutely declined the gifts by a deprecatory gesture. Then, still in Indian file, they went on along the boulevard toward their lodge, where they doffed their disguises. Then they went bathing, ate, and rested, for the costumes are so hot and heavy that the wearers perspire profusely and rapidly tire. [145]

Chants.—After a while the costumes were put on again, and a dance rattle was tied to the Tōkaivéu, who ran in front of the house of a precentor, calling him out by stamping his feet and by movement of the slit. The Mummer extended the rattle on his horn toward the precentor, who removed it and accompanied him to the meeting house. In front of this the kōkrį't formed a circle around their two girl associates, the women who had preceded them in office in 1924, and the precentor; a fifth girl participated in the ceremony from sheer sympathy with the Mummers. The masqueraders began to quaver and hum, whereupon the girls in a clear voice began to sing in a slow tempo to the accompaniment of the dance rattle. The Mummers merely hummed while rocking their bodies from one foot to the other. Then the circle resolved itself into a line, which slowly marched around the boulevard in single file toward the right, halting now and then, forming a circle, and singing: "čiprōkatē iyerēre mae!" (čiprō = swallow; -rē = past?). An Espóra and a Tōkaivéu were in the meantime running from house to house, mutely inviting the girls to the dance in the plaza. The kōkrį't then, together with the maskless youths, danced humming in front of the singing girls, the two groups forming, respectively, the right and the left wing of the dancers.

527 575 553 *Name giving.*—After this dance the Mummers returned to the boulevard, where they remained standing at a point diametrically opposite their lodge. In the meantime the Clown society assembled in the plaza. One of them ran up to the masqueraders, seized their leader by his fringe, and dragged him some seventy meters along the boulevard. There he gave him a nickname and left him. A second Clown ran up, seized and led a second Mummer to the same spot and likewise conferred a nickname on him. The next two Clowns each dragged three Mummers there simultaneously and named them. Then one of the girl associates of the Clowns brought a masquerader thither, and so on until all the kōkrį't were reunited and had received their first sobriquet.

x796 527 575 553 [831] Thereupon a Clown again took the leader some seventy meters farther, the rest being subsequently led there singly, in pairs or in trios, to receive their second nickname. In this way the semicircle to the Mummers' lodge was traversed in six stages, each masquerader receiving six sobriquets amid the constant mischief-making and yelling of the Clowns. Most of the names referred to some ridiculous peculiarity of the sexual organs.

Next the masqueraders collected food in the houses of their "mothers," which they brought to the chiefs and councilors in the plaza. For this purpose they carry under the costume a little basket suspended by a lug from the shoulder, also a wooden pin ½-m. long with which to spit the victuals offered and transfer them into the basket, for their hands must remain invisible.

Then the Mummers, singly and in small groups, played about the circle until after sunset, when they once more gathered at the spot diametrically opposite their meeting place. The radial path from this point to the plaza, as well as the one from the plaza to the kõkrį't lodge, had been specially widened to 6–7 m. for the organization. On this street the masqueraders now ran singly, one after another, transversely across the plaza to their lodge—Kenpéy slowly, Espóra and Tõkaivéu at a mad gallop. The two latter, without slowing up, dashed into the relatively small door, first deftly lowering one horn, then leaping sideways across the threshold, while lowering the other horn, and thus suddenly standing inside. Ihõkẽ'n, too, indulged in antics after his fashion, pretending that he was unable to find the door; twice he ran against the wall so as to fall down, finally he ran around the house and entered by the rear door.

Parade.—The following day at 5 P.M. the kõkrį't held the "penčę" parade. In a long Indian file they slowly marched from their lodge along its radial path nearly up to the plaza, returning in a line parallel to their own. Then they moved two or three houses farther along the boulevard, turned into the radius there, and continued in this way. Sometimes they would go to the plaza on one radius and return to the boulevard by the next, their long line executing parallel serpentine coils. Sometimes the Tõkaivéu would leave the line during this procession and run up and down in front of it.

575 201 Then the kõkrį't collected food from their "mothers," the married members transporting it to their wives, the bachelors consuming theirs in the meeting house.

Behavior of the Mummers.—Except for a muffled humming and a quavering in an undertone that occasionally becomes audible during their parades, the kõkrį't remain speechless, communication with one another and the villagers being by a patter or stamping of feet and by moving the edges of the vertical slit of the mask. They address and greet people by stamping their feet, summon them by protruding and retracting the margins of the slit (pl. 39, *c*). Rapid friction of the edges against each other betokens the request of a favor, for the Mummers are greatly given to mendicancy, even by the extremely lax Rąmkõ'kamekra standards (pl. 39, *d*). A gift is impaled on the wooden pin. They express gratification by dancing and by swinging of the fringe. If humiliated by a refusal, they lower their heads (pl. 39, *a*); when angered, they raise one horn menacingly against the offender (pl. 39, *b*).

575 527 Generally the Mummers run about singly or in small groups along the boulevard and its radii, the Tõkaivéu and Espóra always running most madly. In the evening a fire is kindled in front of the houses near which the masqueraders carry on their playing. None of them ever walks to a house by way of the boulevard; they invariably go first to the plaza and dash straight toward the door in question, where everyone gets out of the way of the menacing horns. Turning his body laterally and in

×796 rapid succession lowering the two horns one after another, a Mummer deftly jumps over the threshold of the door, which as a rule does not exceed 1.70 to 1.80 m. in
527 height.

575 For the food received the members who have killed game during a hunt—where of course they are not masked—bring their "mothers" some of the flesh impaled on the horn. Ihōkẽ'n is in the habit of sitting down by the fire of a house, fanning it into a blaze, and occupying himself with whatever food is in process of preparation, but without stealing any.

At night some of the kōkrį't indulge in the pastime of dragging a village wanton
[837] under their costumes, which easily accommodate a couple, and then the two disappear in the dark.

It has happened that the Jaguars borrowed the kōkrį't masks for a day in order to amuse themselves. In that case the Jaguars previously arrange a hunting trip and turn over the kill to the Mummers, who distribute it among themselves.

Throughout the festive period the Mummers from time to time make a pair of logs and race against the Agoutis.

Hunt.—When the entertainments of the kōkrį't and the collaborating organizations have spread over a sufficient period and the close of the vų'tę' season is in sight, the council decides to inaugurate the terminal celebration. Thereupon the Mummers and the Jaguars go hunting for the western, and the Agoutis for the eastern vų'tę'. This requires one or two weeks' time. Returning from their trip, the hunters send a kinsman of the vų'tę' ahead, so that he may ask the women in the village to prepare stones and firewood for the earth ovens. On the other hand, the vų'tę''s brother walks toward the hunters with a gift consisting of a confection from manioc, sweet potato, or manioc flour. The hunters camp overnight near the village and formally enter it on the following morning, preceded by an old man who sings the names of the animals bagged. A councilor goes to meet the arriving hunters and selects part of the kill for himself and his colleagues. Then the Mummers and the Jaguars march with their spoils into the house of the western vų'tę', and the Agoutis similarly enter the eastern vų'tę''s house. The Mummers put on their masks and disport themselves on the several roads.

[345] *Close.*—On the day before the final solemnity the Agoutis construct the framework of poles for a little round hut 2 m. in diameter and 1 ½-m. in height. It is put up about 5 m. in front of the western vų'tę''s door, where the Jaguars assemble, and remains without a covering of palm leaves. In the center of this hut there is a post of pau pombo wood 5 m. in height and 10 cm. in thickness; towering far above the hut, it terminates in a fork, to which a liana (Cipó mucuña) 3 cm. in thickness is carefully tied so that it hangs down to the roof of the pole framework.

In the afternoon the Agoutis fetch the down-bedecked Little Falcon from the Jaguars' lodge and march around the boulevard yelling and leaping around him and simultaneously trying to pluck off the glued-on feathers, while the Little Falcon's pinčwę'i try to protect him. Every time they pass the Jaguars' lodge the Little Falcon mounts the roof of the little hut and "flies." That is, he seizes the liana with both hands, swings off the roof with a leap on the principle of the giant's stride, clinging to the creeper, lands again, swings off to the other side, and so forth. At last he disappears in the Jaguars' lodge.

On the next day the kōkrį't as well as the vų'tę' season closes with the erection of the trough-shaped kōkré log before one vų'te''s house (p. 167).

In the morning of the same day large meat pies prepared from the hunters' kill are baking in huge earth ovens. Then the Mummers, who on this occasion don their

X796 527 575 masks for the last time, join the Jaguars in surrounding the oven of the western vų'tę', while the Agoutis assemble around the eastern vų'tę''s. By the oven the "mothers" of the kökrį't remove their "sons'" masks, whereupon the Mummers' kinswomen pour water on the wearers. Each "mother" carries the costume home, keeps it there as long as she pleases, and then takes it apart so that the constituents may be otherwise utilized—the mats for seats, the fringe for plaitwork, the horns for bows.

535 527 575 *Character of costumes.*—The masquerade costumes of this tribe are wholly secular, completely lacking religious or esoteric significance. They are unrelated to initiation, age classes, and exogamous, plaza, or seasonal moieties. The Mummers simply form one men's society, like the Agoutis, Jaguars, Ducks, or Falcons, and follow the same pattern of a leader, two girl associates, and transfer of membership from maternal uncle to sister's son. The costumes are not taboo to anyone and inspire no fear, least of all in the tribeswomen, two of whom themselves wear them. In fact, the masks are especially popular among the female population and closely linked with it through the institution of "mothers." Masquerading is a jollification for the villagers, nothing more.

575 535 171 According to Estevão de Oliveira's investigation in 1935, "mothers" turn up in connection with masks, though in a different way, among the linguistically isolated Makurú, who live in the state of Pernambuco, not far from the Caxioeira Paulo Affonso of the Rio São Francisco. Their masks, however, are of quite distinct type and seem to have religious value.

PEPKAHĄ'K

527 *Introduction.*—This is another of the three intercalary festivals performed in years that lack initiation ceremonials.

Pepkahą'k means "imitating (-kahą'k) warriors (pep)," or "similar to warriors." Though the Apinayé phonetic equivalent, Pebkaág, designates the initial phase of their initiation ceremony,[illegible] the Rąmkō'kamekra pepkahą'k is neither immediately connected with the boys' initiation nor a prerequisite to any social function. It almost seems as though the festival results from the desire of the last-initiated age class to enjoy once more the amenities of prolonged seclusion. There is no true origin myth (cf. p. 179) nor are the natives able to interpret the performance beyond declaring that it serves solely for entertainment.

My account rests on the performance I witnessed from April 18 till June 14, 1931. The vų'tę' season of the year had been opened on April 14. On April 18, at 5 P.M., the women and girls had pilfered the pole laden with slices of meat and fruits; and there followed the customary dance for that time of day in the plaza, which was immediately followed by the opening of the pepkahą'k. This rapid succession of events was by no means accidental or due to lack of time, but was designed to prevent the dispersal of the younger men, who were practically all assembled for the vų'tę' opening and had no inkling of the prospective beginning of the festival. Some might have gone away to evade capture and participation, for not all the individuals selected for a part relish this new seclusion.

Personnel.—The personnel embraced:

1. Uninterned: two catchers (hapą'nkate), who are actual directors, viz., To'pö' of the eastern and Kuikō' of the western exogamous moiety.

One precentor (ikrérekate); as usual, old Ką'e.

2. Interned: two leaders (mamkyě'ti), one from each moiety, who head their secluded age mates.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 37.

X796 527 3. One old man (mekapónkate), sharing no form of behavior with the bearer of the identical title in the boys' initiations except for his marching at the end of the ceremonial column. His sole function is to eat the heads of game killed by the pepkahą'k, these parts being taboo to younger men. The incumbent, Kenkum, was one of the most insignificant men in the village.

4. Two girl associates (pepkahą'kkuičwę'i), one from each moiety—Konkré from the eastern, Pačédn from the western; the latter was already betrothed. Like the mekuičwę'i of initiation festivals they are taboo to their male fellow internes. Each girl had among these one kinsman of her own moiety who regarded himself as her guardian and stood behind her during the singing.

5. Two messenger boys (kra'tō'ipakatire). Prentáp represented the eastern, Krokočą' the western moiety; they were about eight years old and their main duty was to carry back into the village residences the gourd food bowls emptied by the pepkahą'k. They are officially the girls' sleeping mates, and the rules of internment apply to them only in part.

6. Two "children" (mehikra) of the pepkahą'k, boys of about five, whose internment was not rigidly enforced.

7. Twelve young men, the true pepkahą'k, six from each moiety. Their number, however, was soon raised to eighteen. All of them had graduated from the cycle of initiation that closed in 1929, but had not taken part in the preceding pepkahą'k of 1928. None of the boys secluded in the preceding year's ketúaye was admitted among the pepkahą'k.

527 522 *Capture; preparations.*—Directly after the evening dance of April 18, the pepkahą'ktum, that is, those who had taken part in 1928, formed a circle, which is characteristic for the pepkahą'k songs, assembled in the plaza, and began to sing in an undertone. Beside them stood the two chiefs Ropką' and Hąktokót; the two secretly appointed catchers, To'pō' and Kuikō', watched carefully and carried on a whispered conference. Suddenly To'pō' ran toward and around the dancers, clasped Iką', a vigorous young man of the western moiety, from behind, and led him to the junction of the plaza and the radial path thither from Iką''s maternal home. There, without releasing him, he made him face the center of the plaza. At once Kuikō' stepped up to the captive, divested him of his earplugs and arm bands, and while combing his front hair with the fingers of both hands he sang, "Itamčwę' [my nephew] yaklé [is glad] pemā he!" Then out from among the spectators at the periphery of the plaza leaped the snake doctor—a hąpín of Iką''s—dancing and screaming like a madman behind the captive, dug up the earth dog-fashion with his hands, and retracted his prepuce, simulating the movements of cohabitation—all this to betoken his insane joy over his hąpín's belonging to the pepkahą'k. The same procedure was followed with another young man of the eastern moiety, one Mikrō', Chief Hąktokót's eldest son. These two were the mamkyē'ti of the present pepkahą'k; of the two, Iką' played the more prominent part in the festival.

Similarly, ten others were caught from among the spectators and put in position, always alternately from the two moieties. Some fled into their maternal house to hide, but all in vain. With each captive the same grotesque scene with a hąpín was repeated. One of the spectators suddenly straddled his sword club as if it were a hobby horse, wielded his trumpet like a whip, and capered at a gallop behind his captive "friend." Another met his hąpín's pinčwę'i behind the friend's back, put his arms around her, and pretended to cohabit with her.

527 After sunset the new pepkahą'k marched a little way on the street leading westward out of the village and camped in the steppe for the night.

X796 527 On April 19 the kinsmen of the pepkahą'k constructed a road reserved solely for their use. It was not very wide but neat and went around the outside of the boulevard close by the rear of the residences. The pepkahą'k in the meantime built their seclusion hut (pepkahą'kyŭkwá) on the south side of the village, about two hundred and fifty meters beyond the periphery; connected it by a broad road with the north-south street dividing the village into its moieties; cleared a space in front of the hut; and constructed a perfectly straight path from their retreat to the common water supply for the village, at the crossing of the western street and the Ponto Creek. They made no well of their own. Thus two days passed.

Wasp ceremony.—During the night of April 19–20 it rained violently until midnight. When the storm had ceased, the pepkahą'ktum (of 1928) formed a circle in the plaza, with their then girl associates—both now married—in their midst, viz., Kentapí and one of Ropką''s daughters. Thus they sang the pepkahą'k songs, while beside them a man with a ceremonial lance and his hąpín constantly ran rapidly back and forth in a north-south direction, loudly crying "čŭ-hă!" at every about-face. This is customary in order to hasten the sunrise when a ceremony is to continue until daybreak. Actually the two men kept up this running and yelling until the sun rose.

527, 575 [794] Shortly before 6 P.M. the Duck society assembled at the south point of the house circle in front of Yądkré's house. The Ducks are hostile to the pepkahą'k, whose allies are the Falcons, the King Vultures, and especially the Clowns. During the night the Ducks had brought from the steppe a large nest of wasps with its inmates and the branch from which it was hanging; clandestinely they had set it up about fifteen paces from the door of the seclusion hut. Now they marched to the plaza to range themselves in two parallel north-south lines. Before them stood a Falcon, continuously uttering the falcon cry. Meanwhile the women assembled near the retreat. Suddenly the Ducks, led by chiefs Ropką' and Kukrăčą', came rushing at the hut with the intention of hurling the nest into it. But before they had reached the nest the women fell upon it with bunches of twigs and knocked it asunder. Nevertheless Kukrăčą' picked up a piece of the destroyed nest, dashed to the house of retreat, and knocked against the mat-covered door, behind which the pepkahą'k remained in complete silence. But forthwith half a dozen women jumped at him, beating and scratching him severely. Then all marched to the plaza. The women, some of whom had been stung several times, carried off as trophies the fragments of the nest they had destroyed.

Additions to personnel.—Next Konkré and Pačědn were brought to the plaza as the girl associates to join in seclusion. Then the pepkahą'k were augmented by eight further captives. They included four participants in the last preceding performance of the festival; one of them, Tépkakró was reckoned an adept at the songs, so that at a pinch he might substitute for old Ką'e, the singing teacher or precentor at all festivals of this category. Moreover, the two messenger boys were conducted to the scene.

After their ranks had thus been filled, the pepkahą'k retired to their hut of internment. The Ducks and the Falcons, however, ran screaming toward the houses of their girl associates, newly chosen for the current festive period, and led them out to participate regularly henceforth in the dances and ceremonies of these societies.

527 *Seclusion.*—Apart from their daily circuit for food collection and their songs every night, one notices the pepkahą'k very little during the next months. On April 28 the directors suddenly decided that the number of participants was really still too small and captured the supplementary six youths, as already mentioned.

x796 527 The pepkahą'k mostly idled in their hut, but frequently went bathing—always in their fixed marching order: first came the mamkyē'ti, the old mekapónkate bringing up the rear, and the two mekuičwę'i in the middle. Some members occasionally did a little hunting, incidentally one day stealing and eating an ox that did not belong to the Indians. They fashioned the carved heads of their wands and the rest of the decorative outfit, consisting of bandoleers and neckbands, sometimes also including wristlets of tucum cords dyed black. Apart from this they loafed, separated by moieties into two rows along the longitudinal walls of their rectangular hut.

Food collection.—Every afternoon toward 4:30, food is collected from the participants' maternal homes in the same ceremonial fashion. At this hour the pepkahą'k leave their hut very slowly and softly, without saying a word, and march to the village in the prescribed order. The first villager to catch sight of them calls the attention of the community to the fact by a piercing yell, so that the inmates of the houses may prepare the food for the performers. As soon as the pepkahą'k have reached the path reserved for them outside the circle of domiciles, they turn to the right into this road of theirs and follow it, passing from south to east, north and west around the village. No one meets them or looks at them during this procession. When the silent parade comes to pass the rear door of the maternal home of a pepkahą'k, one of his kinswomen steps out, and without looking at him, hands him a gourd bowl filled with food, whereupon she quickly retires as the column slowly moves on.

After making the circuit of the village and receiving each one his bowl of food, they marched on to their hut, in front of which there is a scaffold of poles on which the bowls can be set down. In the space before the hut a great many mats are lying about for the pepkahą'k to rest on. The leaders (mamkyē'ti) first segregate the share of the two directors (hapą'nkate); the remainder they divide equally among all those present, who consume the food while sitting on the mats. The next morning the errand boys return the empty bowls to the houses.

Evening and night.—At nightfall the two directors regularly meet in the plaza, then jointly go to the place of internment. At the margin of the space before the house the leaders receive them, in a soft voice report to them, and answer their questions. This conference may last a fairly long time, for at least toward the close of the celebration the directors have to convey many instructions and explanations for the following day. Sometimes the two directors linger on for a while in the space in front of the house, but never very long; for the most part they soon retire, carrying off their allotment of food. Except for these visits in the evening they never come to the hut of seclusion.

After the directors' visit, when it has grown quite dark, that is, about 7 P.M., the old precentor goes to the pepkahą'k, usually accompanied by the two girls secluded as associates during the preceding celebration; they are to give instructions in singing to their young successors and otherwise to aid them. The pepkahą'k were always glad to see me join their number with the carved staff that had been presented to me.

As soon as the precentor has arrived, one of the leaders produces a protracted sound on his horn whistle, a signal to the villagers that the pepkahą'k songs are about to start and that during the chants all loud noise, including the barking of [293] dogs, is to be suppressed. The mats are pushed into place, and each member grasps his staff, these insignia varying in length all the way from 1 to 1.60 m., but being always provided with a carved head. The staff and the black cord decoration are the badges of membership.

X796 527 533 The pepkahą'k sit in a circle on the mats, with a fixed position of their legs, grasp each staff at about the level of the head and brace it vertically against the ground. In the middle of the circle sits the old precentor, opposite him the girls. The chant begins in very low and deep tones, in sharply stressed two-fourths time, for the singers rhythmically rock their bodies with a circular movement from the right forward toward the left, always resting on their staffs. The girl associates, who are without staffs, sit immobile. From the village this initial chant sounds almost like the muffled, rhythmic noise of a machine in motion. After a while there are songs with words. Now the girls' loud and clear notes drown the dull masculine chorus of men and youths. After a while all rise and continue their songs standing, always propped on their staffs and lightly stamping their right feet during the rotary movement of their bodies. Thus the songs continue from seven till midnight or even later. Between every two stanzas there is a short intermission, often hardly a second in duration; at greater intervals a longer pause is interpolated, during which all sit down and rest. No one utters a word throughout the entire performance, only the leaders occasionally whisper some direction. If the nocturnal bird called *rasga-mortalha* by the Brazilians (*Caprimulgus* sp.) utters his cry during a song, the chant abruptly ceases. Ordinarily some forty stanzas are sung each night.

Kentapí, the girl associate of 1928, who still remembered most of the texts spontaneously and as Ką'e's niece could easily get relevant information, dictated to me painfully (for like all other informants, she would constantly lose the context) a number of stanzas, but she was able to translate them no more than any fellow villager. So far as I credit myself with grasping the meaning, the lines refer exclusively to animals, especially to birds and their food, each verse dealing with a single species:

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1. hinarí karakõčẽ' kukrį'ti
? soar king vultures
2. kaka teyarĩ tomó pųpų're ha teyarĩ tomó
? step waterfowl? step
3. yu krẽkahą'ka kõrat nayeneką'
? maracanã ? ?
4. [illegible]tire, bõtire vinekpĩkąepičą ta'nõiamã
curica curica no food ? wait
5. krẽtire krẽtire nekupekuipečą nehõkačą
periquito periquito eat ? ?
6. hikuti takąmá punaputẽ
tiuba seeks a hole
7. čuti kaką'ra kaka punatẽ napui kačwę napui kaprõ'
big mutuca horsefly blood
maipõ' napučáne čukaką'ra

527 177 733 *Disturbances.*—The intrusion of Neobrazilian whisky dealers now interfered with the normal procedure. One of the leaders of the pepkahą'k was found on the steppe dead drunk, and the girl associates began to break seclusion every night to sleep in their mothers' houses for fear of the constantly besotted members. I asked Kentapí whether the same lack of discipline had characterized the festival in 1928 when she had served as associate. She was very indignant, her brother Pąhí being one of the present drunkards, and declared that no whisky had got to the society on the previous occasion, the leaders had rigorously maintained order, she herself had been tied up for hours for having once broken internment and sneaked off to her mother's home. That year the girl associates had felt perfectly safe by day or night; no one had so much as thought of undue liberties. Also the pepkahą'k had suffered no dearth of meat then and felt no need to steal strangers' cattle. The mem-

x796 527 177 bers had made hunting trips for days into the wooded Serra do Alpercatas and returned with considerable smoked meat especially of wild pigs. On one occasion her father, Nyō'hí, had shot three ostriches on one day and donated two to the pepkahą'k.

733 [123] The next day I confiscated a whisky dealer's stock, then when the council invited me, as usual, to join their evening session, I seriously remonstrated with them because of the degeneration of the festival into a drunken carousal, pointing out the fatal consequences of such contempt for old tradition on the entire tribal organization. Finally I said that in such circumstances I no longer cared to attend the celebration and would depart. Fortunately an appeal to ancient usage almost always produces a good effect on these Indians. The elders were visibly ashamed, took my part and acted accordingly, so that the excesses ceased and the festival was resumed according to program.

527 575 476 *Ducks and Falcons.*—During the entire period of seclusion these societies maintained a holiday spirit in the village by almost daily dances and log races. Since sundry families were behind schedule with their rice harvest, they repeatedly called on these societies for aid, which was always readily granted. The entire organization would then move for several days to the applicants' farm, loaf, and dance half of the time, but assist at the harvest during the remainder. As compensation they were content with receiving their board and a small quantity of rice, which the girl associates were told to prepare for a common meal in the lodge on the members' return to the village. The homeward trip of course always took the form of a log race.

527 *Various activities.*—On May 20 greater variety was ushered in with a race arranged by the pepkahą'k from the plaza to their hut of seclusion. On the next day the villagers began carefully to clear the radial paths of grass and rough spots, beginning with the paths leading from the leaders' houses to the plaza. But the requisite labor was not performed by the inmates of a house, but by the hąpín of the pepkahą'k in question, whose kin compensated his "friend" by a gourd bowl filled with food. In the meantime the pepkahą'k themselves fixed the street leading westward outside the village, continuing as far as the Ponto Creek crossing so that the road almost resembled an automobile highway.

On May 24 these labors of the pepkahą'k were finished. Even several days previously they had begun making mats of burity bast, and now this work was zealously continued.

527 575 On the morning of the 24th the Ducks and the Falcons ran a race around the boulevard, then the two societies and their girls, forming one long line along the same street, danced from house to house, collecting victuals. With these they moved into the steppe to hunt falcons in order to secure the large quantity of down required for festive body decoration. Those owning guns received ammunition from me.

619 527 794 575 At 7 P.M. on June 3 all the men assembled in the plaza and grouped themselves in four divisions. This arrangement, which is peculiar to the King Vulture ceremonial, rests on a distinctive principle, viz., the matrilineal descent of the population according to the *tribes* that gradually contributed to the present village community. For the Rąmkō'kamekra have come to incorporate fragments of the Čą'kamekra, the Karē'kateye, and the Krō'rekamekra (pp. 30–32, 35). Of the Apą'nyekra only two survivors remain in the village, while the Hōtí (=Apinayé) immigrants are quite extinct, so that these two tribes are no longer represented at the segregation in question. The indigenous and numerically quite preponderant Rąmkō'kamekra occupy the very center, the three surviving immigrant fragments are grouped along the periphery of the plaza according to the direction from which their ancestors

x 796 575 migrated. On the evening of June 3 the grouping was apparently tried only tentatively.

527 619 527 575 Early on the morning of June 4 the Ducks and Falcons arranged a log race. The ensuing episode really had no connection with the festival. In the presence of many onlookers the men of the kupẽ plaza group now glued falcon down on a youth of their own group whose illness had prevented participation in the last year's ketúaye initiation and painted him with urucú, all this taking place in his maternal home. The kupẽ thereupon camped at their proper station, the south-southwest corner of the plaza, whither the youth brought them a gourd bowl filled with food.

[794] At 4:30 P.M. the men resumed the previous evening's places in the plaza according to tribal affiliation. Then, each group by itself marched in single file around the boulevard, each tribe receiving victuals from the matrilineal homes of its King Vulture members. The food was subsequently distributed and consumed in the plaza.

During this night the pepkahą'k ought to have sung together with their girls until daybreak; but the weather only permitted this activity till midnight.

On June 5 there was another sunrise log race arranged by the Ducks and the Falcons, followed by a shooting match in front of the Falcons' lodge.

In the meantime the women and girls had made for their pepkahą'k relatives new chest and neck cords (horkakačẽ') of the finest burity bast. The messengers collected these ornaments for the pepkahą'k, who dyed them and their newly made earplugs, also in part their own bodies, yellow with the sap of the urucú root. Then they put on this new decoration, but took pains to hide some coils of the finest cords in their hair, their girdle, their armpits, even gluing them to the soles of their feet. Two Clowns joined them, wearing bandoleers and girdles of the coarsest burity bast, which one of them had also wrapped around his ankles; instead of staffs they carried rough branches with foliage.

After the close of the Duck-Falcon log race the women assembled in the two houses between which the street from the seclusion hut merges into the village. There they waited while the two old directors of the festival met in the plaza and marched toward the hut of seclusion. Soon the pepkahą'k with their yellow cord ornamentation began to parade toward the village. But as they approached the houses where the women were waiting, these rushed upon them in full force and took off their cords in order to make girdles of them for themselves. But the pepkahą'k, robbed of all but their concealed cords, marched on along their external road beyond the circle of houses and, as usual, gathered food in their maternal homes. One of the two Clowns marched ahead, sweeping the road ahead with his leafy bough; his mate brought up the rear. Both got an ample share of food handed out to them from the homes of the pepkahą'k.

On June 9 the pepkahą'k once more decorated themselves in their hut with the yellow cords saved by concealment. In pairs and trios they sneaked backward into the steppe, describing a big arc around the outside of the village, and afterward reassembled toward the opposite (north) side. One of them climbed a high steppe tree near by, from which he could survey the entire village. The others hid in the grass, shielding themselves from the notice of chance passers-by, behind lopped-off branches.

As soon as the lookout saw the two directors meeting in the plaza in order to depart for the seclusion hut, he slid down the tree and reported to his comrades, who now, shielding themselves with their boughs, cautiously slunk through the grass toward the northern exit of the north-south street of the village. As soon as they

×796 had arrived there, they leapt up, rapidly took up positions in marching order, and
575 entered the village. There the women and girls at once pounced upon them from all
sides and robbed them of their remaining yellow cord decoration.

527 On the boulevard the pepkahą'k divided up by moieties, the eastern members going around to the left, the western members to the right; each one entered his mother's house by the front door and received a bowl of food there. At the southern exit of the north-south street the two companies met and jointly marched to their retreat. One Clown, wearing an old, completely dilapidated Neobrazilian straw hat, limped after them.

527 In the afternoon all the uninterned villagers assembled in the plaza, where a very
youthful apprentice in magic—though under surveillance of his master, chief
756 Hąktokót—subjected them to a preventive treatment against fatigue. Each in turn stepped up and was fanned, both from the front and back, with a sucupira branch. This was to enable him to endure to the very end the terminal pepkahą'k ceremony, which was to begin two days later and to last five days, part of the proceedings being rather strenuous.

On June 11, before sunrise, all the Ducks went bathing and then ran singing along the boulevard to the pepkahą'k retreat, where many women had already assembled, also five members of the Clown society, among them their two girl associates. These latter and one of the male Clowns wore rather crude face masks made of *Lagenaria* gourd cut into roundish shape, with two slits for eyes and a dentate slit for the mouth (pl. 40, *b*). The masks were painted white and red and fastened in front of the face by a cord running around the back of the head. The faces of the maskless men were painted black; one of them was carrying a crooked, gnarled branch for a club. On the northern side of the space in front of the retreat an earth mound had been erected as a buffer; it was roof-shaped, about 30 cm. in height, and 80 cm. long. On the upper edge of its ridge a narrow lath of burity leafstalk was attached longitudinally by two long rods stuck through its ends into the mound.

527 The pepkahą'k were neither to be seen nor heard, remaining silent behind the
closed door of their hut. But when the throng of Ducks came rushing on, Uvę't, the
526 champion marksman of the pepkahą'k, suddenly stepped outdoors, armed with a
575 bow of yellow piquy wood and a bundle of arrows. He threw the arrows down in front of him, except for the one which he fitted to the string. This he shot with full force against the buffer, so that the cane shaft came down flat on the surface of the burity shoot, bounded off obliquely upward, rose high into the air, and only struck the ground far ahead. This form of buffer shooting, vato'tē'k, is a national sport of all the steppe Timbira, who practice it from childhood on. The archer whose arrow flies farthest after its impact is regarded as the victor, winning all the arrows behind his own.

Immediately a Duck stepped forth and took aim at the buffer. But at the very moment when he was about to let fly, the masked Clowns, with wild shouts and menacing gestures, swooped down upon him, trying to confuse him so that he would make a poor shot, thus enabling their friends, the pepkahą'k, to win. They kept quiet when the pepkahą'k archer's turn came.

Thus the Ducks and the pepkahą'k continued shooting in competition. A boy gathered up the arrows discharged and took them back to the archers' stance. The Ducks won. Finally the two marksmen ran a race, holding their bows in their hands, and following the pepkahą'k street which led to the water hole, and this time the
575 pepkahą'k won.

527 *Log race.*—These competitive games were followed by the preparations for a log

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race of the type characteristic of the meipimrą'k period, between the ką' and the atų'k. In their retreat the pepkahą'k united with their friends, the King Vultures, and there they split up into ką' and atų'k with their appropriate decorative paint—the ką' using vertical and the atų'k horizontal black parallel lines. Witnessing these preliminaries in the seclusion hut, I noticed a cord stretched horizontally from which were hanging numerous coils of spun cotton string and beaded cords. These had been made by the pepkahą'k for subsequent use by their kinswomen in manufacturing the final decorative outfit for the members.

There followed a log race—not, however, as might be surmised from the preparations, of ką' versus atų'k, but of the united pepkahą'k and King Vultures against the Ducks. Nearly all the girls and women of the village accompanied the racers, carrying gourd bottles with water for them.

In the evening the pepkahą'k divided by moieties on the left and right side along the boulevard, each going to his mother's house, where for the first time he resumed eating with his matrilineal relatives.

Haircut.—In the same night all women and girls who stood in the pinčwę'i relation to any Falcon had their hair clipped short in the back of the neck. A bright fire was burning outside the Falcons' lodge at the east point of the boulevard. The Falcons marched round the boulevard, singing their choral-like chants. Toward 8 P.M. they formed a circle outside their house of assembly, with their girl associates in the center, and in this position they continued chanting, while their pinčwę'i, some accompanied by their families, were assembling somewhat to one side by several little fireplaces. An elderly Indian holding in his hands a pair of scissors obtained from me and accompanied by his assistant walked along the boulevard, loudly crying "tiyõ'aõ'aõ'a!" (tiyõ' = Portuguese tezoura, scissors). As soon as his circuit had led him back to the Falcons' pinčwę'i, he cut off the long hair from the necks of several women; his assistant tied together the tuft clipped off and attached one after another to a long cord, while the pinčwę'i were bandying jokes about their altered appearance. Then the two men, continually shouting, went to the plaza, returned, and again clipped off tufts of hair from the necks of a number of other women. At 10 P.M. the last haircut was completed, whereupon the Falcons fell silent, and everybody went home.

End of internment.—Even before sunrise the entire village assembled on both sides of the broad street leading to Ponto Creek that had been specially built by the pepkahą'k for the ceremony to come next. About a hundred meters beyond the circle of houses the street was barred by a mat screen about 1.50 m. high, behind which the pepkahą'k and their two girl associates had slept during the night. In front of this wall, parallel to each other and in the direction of the street, were lying two poles (avarvrę're) 12–13 m. in length, which the Falcons had chopped down and deposited here on the day before. At the same time the Clowns had hidden two posts about 2 m. long in the grass near by. The two long poles were laid on leaves, and a young Indian painted them red. Then an attractively painted man hung with all sorts of ornaments knelt down first between the tops, then between the butt ends of the poles, and sang with outstretched arms. As soon as he had finished his act his decoration was removed. Then the men of each moiety raised one of the poles, running with it to the intersection of the street and the house circle. There they laid the poles down for a moment, but at once lifted them again, and carried them to the plaza. There the men of the eastern moiety put theirs on the west side, with the butt toward the east; the western men put theirs on the east side, with the butt toward the west. Now a hole was dug for each pole on the east and

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west sides of the plaza, respectively, the distance of the holes from the butts being made exactly the same. Suddenly both groups hastily raised their posts, set them into the holes, and fixed them firmly in place by stamping, each team trying to outdo the other in speed. The eastern moiety erected the pole standing on the west side, and vice versa.

They had not yet completed the job when two Clowns, carrying their posts on their shoulders, came rushing to the plaza by different streets. There they laid down the posts in north-south lines parallel to and beside each other. Suddenly lifting them, they competed with each other in planting the sticks in two holes already in evidence on the north and south sides.

After the erection of the avarvrę're the pepkahą'k moved around the boulevard, dispersing to their several maternal homes, whence they no longer returned to their retreat, since their seclusion was ended.

The avarvrę're remained standing on the plaza for a week without anyone's paying the least attention to them. Then they were removed and used as building material.

Clowns.—Now the Clowns, whose girl associates were holding carrying baskets, danced from house to house round the boulevard, headed by two men with dance rattles. People from all the maternal houses of the pepkahą'k brought out food and laid it in the girls' carrying baskets as a token of gratitude for the way the Clowns had helped the pepkahą'k. During this episode the chief Kukrăčą', the hindmost dancer in the Clowns' line, tried to sneak into the houses in order to steal victuals, but the women generally caught him in the act and drove him out with blows. The circuit ended before the Clowns' meeting house at the north point of the village.

In various houses the inmates now began to prepare meat pies, which were subsequently baked in an earth oven behind the house.

In the afternoon the Ducks and the Clowns performed the following dramatic scene. At 3:30 P.M. a man and a boy of the Duck society ran around the boulevard. In their mouths they were holding flat, round whistles made of a snail helix perforated in the center, and with these instruments they produced a twittering noise mimicking wild ducks on the wing. Soon "eggs" were set outside the door of each Duck's maternal home—such fruits as oranges and mangos, but also other forms of food. The two marchers circled round the "eggs" twittering and crying "kuyū'," after which they trotted on. Then they made a second circuit, shouting and twittering, and collected all the "eggs" outside the doors.

In the meantime a huge gourd bowl, painted with urucú at the edge, had been brought to the plaza to represent the Ducks' "lake." The members assembled round it and stooped to drink. The man and the boy joined them, and now "the Ducks laid their eggs," that is, they concealed the fruits and other provisions in the sand and grass at the margin of the plaza.

Meanwhile, from the door of his own society's lodge, a Clown observed the doings of the Ducks and finally sent one of his colleagues to the plaza to find out whether the Ducks were really by the lake. He found them standing around the water bowl. Then the Clown, arming himself with a gigantic crooked bow and a shapeless arrow 2½ m. long, approached the Ducks, and shot off his arrow over them. At once "the Ducks flew into the air," that is, they ran to the creek and bathed, while all the Clowns came and gathered the concealed "eggs."

On the same afternoon the King Vultures' hąpin swept the radial paths leading from their "friends'" maternal homes to the plaza.

X794 575 527 *Mat dance.*—At 7 P.M. the entire population of the village gathered in the plaza, the families building small fires at the periphery and camping there. In the middle the pepkahą'k sang and formed a circle round the King Vultures. Some days previously the pepkahą'k had turned over to their pinčwę'i the burity mats as soon as they had finished them. Each King Vulture now received from his sister or female parallel cousin a mat and a little meat pie, but at once handed these gifts to his pinčwę'i. These female "friends" of the King Vultures now sat with folded mats in the circle around the dancers. When the night grew cold, they rose and covered themselves with the mats, standing at midnight like pillars. But then they opened the mats in the back and joining one mat to the other formed a compact circle around the dancers to shield them from the cold. Judging from my personal experience, this aim was actually attained. From the outside nothing of the group appeared except the closed circular wall of mats.

Meanwhile the dancers took turns walking to and fro with a ceremonial lance from north to south outside the group and crying loudly "čũhã !" each time before facing about on the south side. As noted, this rite purports to hasten the coming of daybreak.

527 575 794 *More haircutting; feathering; Ducks.*—On the same night the long occipital hair of all hąpín and pinčwę'i of either the King Vultures or the pepkahą'k was cut short and united with the tufts clipped in the preceding night from the Falcons' pinčwę'i. The resulting large bundle was subsequently hung from a branch about 6 m. high in the steppe to the west of the village, whence I took it down for my collection. This ceremony lasted all night; only at daybreak the pepkahą'k and the King Vultures jointly danced around the boulevard, then dispersed to their maternal homes.

On the following morning (June 13) the pepkahą'k, accompanied by their two girl associates and those of the last preceding celebration of the festival, gathered together in a house on the northeast of the circle of houses, where falcon down was stuck on them. At the same hour the Falcons, each in his maternal home, were similarly decorated. Three little children—"young falcons"—were also feathered with periquito down and later took part in the ceremony, straddling the shoulders of adults. While the completely ornamented pepkahą'k were singing in the house, a Falcon "flew" from house to house, that is, used his arms to mimic flying, and assembled his mates, who jointly crossed the plaza and marched straight to the house where the pepkahą'k were still singing. On the space in front of the house they encountered the members' hąpín and pinčwę'i, who were dancing in one line and all holding a long pole horizontally before them. Opposite to them the hąpín and pinčwę'i of the King Vultures were similarly dancing in a parallel line with another pole. Two Falcons, holding staffs, and two erstwhile girl associates carrying the "young falcons" on their shoulders, walked back and forth between the two poles for a while, then the Falcons departed for the plaza, soon followed by the pepkahą'k and the undecorated King Vultures.

In the meantime, the female relatives of the several pepkahą'k were making meat pies, which they turned over to their kinsmen's pinčwę'i, who distributed them in the houses.

Then the Nestor of the village, flanked by two other old men who had once belonged to the Duck organization, stepped into the plaza facing east. The Ducks took positions behind this trio. Presently the Falcons rushed out of their lodge on the opposite side and bombarded the Ducks with pieces of sugar cane, yam tubers, oranges, etc. The attacked party evaded the missiles by deftly jumping aside, but

X791 several nevertheless received slight scratches. Then the Ducks faced westward and were similarly assaulted by the pepkahą'k of the preceding celebration.

527 575 794 *King Vulture ceremony.*—Toward 4 P.M. each of the thirty-four King Vultures in his maternal home had his chest, back, arms, and thighs decorated with bands of falcon down three fingers wide, the intervening bare spaces of the limbs and body being painted with urucú. They further donned the dorsal ornament that is exclusively theirs, viz., a bundle of carefully smoothed bamboo rods (popók) of lead-pencil thickness and about 30 cm. long. In the following ceremony all the thirty-four King Vultures exactly patterned their behavior on that of their leader Tunkō', whose movements they immediately imitated, producing a very pretty effect.

Exactly at the same time as Tunkō' all stepped out of their homes on the boulevard, where a big gourd bowl with food had been set down for each man. All made flying movements with a leftward lunge and outstretched arms, then took the bowl into the left arm, followed the radial paths of their homes halfway to the plaza, constantly making leftward lunges, dragging the right foot after, and mimicking flying with their free right arms. At the halting place they set down the bowls and for a while repeated the flying movements with both arms. Then they picked up the bowls again and in the manner described advanced to the plaza, where they all arrived at the very same moment from all directions and united in a circle. Setting down the bowls, they continued for a while with flying movements with both arms. Meanwhile the other men of the village had been standing in the plaza, segregated by the four tribal divisions. Now they approached, picked up the bowls, and distributed the food in them among themselves.

Thereupon the King Vultures marched to a house on the northwest side of the village, where all deposited their dorsal pendants on a mat placed on the ground. Their kinswomen picked them up, sheathed them in specially plaited burity bast containers, and then stowed them away. The King Vultures then marched back to the plaza and sat down on the west side.

Meanwhile the Falcons and Ducks, preceded by two men with ceremonial lances, jointly danced in a double line round the boulevard, singing. This dance announced the imminent slaughter of a tame taitetú pig on the following day.

Toward sunset a bearer of the pepkahą'k lance ran to an eastern house, out of which soon stepped the pepkahą'k girls, preceded by two men with dance rattles. They wore broad, undyed cotton wristlets with thick tassels, and down each one's back was hanging a little bowl. Slowly singing and dancing, the group moved toward the plaza, while the lance bearer was constantly running back and forth between them and the plaza. When the dancers had at last reached the plaza, the lance bearer thrust his lance into the ground, whereupon the two girls, who had been joined by their predecessors of the last preceding celebration, together with the rattle bearers formed a circle around it, and sang while dancing toward and away from the lance.

The day closed with a round dance in the plaza by the united pepkahą'k, Falcons, Ducks, and King Vultures, followed by a final dance around the boulevard.

575 527 *Killing of pig.*—On June 14, the last day of the festival, a tamed taitetú pig was killed, as in the ketúaye and pepyé festivals.

Directly after sunrise the Ducks appeared with cudgels, ran around the boulevard, then across the plaza toward the house of the woman who owned the taitetú. The beast was led to the space in front of the house and immediately clubbed to death by the Ducks, who dragged it into the steppe amid the loud lamentations of

796 all the male and female residents of the dwelling. Similarly the Ducks treated a tamed paca (*Coelogenys paca*). For lack of another tame taitetú, the pepkahą'k,
575 Falcons, and Clowns then killed a domestic pig, which was cooked in Yadkrë's
527 house. In the meantime they and the Ducks, who were carrying the taitetú and the paca, marched on the north street beyond the village to the next ford of the creek, about three kilometers away, where they camped beside the road and prepared the meat. This was accompanied by a sort of exchange of wives: the Ducks' women joined the company of pepkahą'k, Falcons, and Clowns, and the wives of members of these three societies went to the Ducks. That this exchange, however, involved anything beyond preparation of food by the women for their new associates, I was not able to determine.

Log race.—When all had eaten, bathed and rested, two pairs of race logs were brought, which had been fashioned near by on the previous day—a heavier pair for the males and a lighter one for the females, for the return to the village was to conform to the traditional log-race pattern. At 4 P.M. there was first the customary dance near the logs, which were lying in pairs on the street, then the women took up theirs and ran off, the men following after a considerable interval with their own logs. The women's pair had again, as usual, been made too heavy: especially on sandy knolls they were barely able to move, had to drop them several times, and overcame the final climb into the village only with the aid of several men and youths, just as in the corresponding ketúaye race of the preceding year.

Fire ceremony.—After this double race there was a performance peculiar to the pepkahą'k in its final stage.

A fire was kindled in the plaza; around it some twenty young men and half-grown lads, decorated with various ornaments, knives, cloths, spoons, and other goods, formed a dancing ring under the direction of a precentor. A number of men, similarly decorated, stood outside the circle, and behind them their kinswomen with gourd bottles filled with water. A certain Čąre meanwhile ran with his lance from house to house and brought a number of young women and girls to the plaza, where he assigned places to them, each one standing at the intersection of the plaza and her mother's radial path. Taking a brand from the fire, the precentor of the dancers handed it to one of the girls, who ran straight toward one of the men and thrust the brand at him. Those girls who were or had been vų'tę', pepkuičwę'i, or pepkahą'kkuičwę'i only made a pretense at thrusting and laid the brand down at the man's feet; but the present or former girl associates of the several men's societies thrust their brands with serious intent, so that the one attacked had to guard himself against a real burn. As soon as the girl took the offensive, the victim's kinswomen came rushing up and, irrespective of whether he had been struck or not, poured water on him from head to foot. A matrilineal kinsman of the assailant then divested the man of all his decorations, but was then under obligation to compensate him with a counter gift on the next day. This scene with the brand was repeated until the last of the males present had been stripped of his ornaments.

Final procedures.—In the evening twilight the pepkahą'k, Falcons, and King Vultures, on the one hand, and the Ducks, on the other, appeared for a circuit around the boulevard in opposite directions. Again each participant received some object from his maternal home—almost always something of civilized origin, more particularly, cloth or iron tools. Whatever was thus obtained was laid before the
[794] owner of the killed taitetú and of the paca (but not before the pig's owner), these women sitting each in the space in front of her dwelling. A clown also appeared bringing his society's offering of an indemnity—a wholly useless tattered old basket

X796 575 527 Thus closed the pepkahą'k. On the following morning the several collaborating societies and the pepkahą'k arranged a shooting contest on the radial streets. This continued for hours until the eastern vų'tę' brought an enormous gourd bowl filled with food, which was jointly consumed in the plaza. Thus the vų'tę' ceremonial once more gained dominance.

TEPYARKWÁ

527 773 This is still another of the three major festivals one of which is intercalated during years without initiation ceremonies. Tep means "fish"; yarkwá, "its mouth" (figuratively, "its song"); the designation of the festival thus signifies "Fish Song."

Origin myth.—As usual, this explains not the ultimate origin, but the alleged loan of the ceremony from previous performers. The tale recalls the Pųkóbye myth about Mummers' costumes (p. 202).

[539] The Indians had planted their plots; having nothing to eat before the harvest, they moved to settle for some time on the west bank of the Tocantins, where there were many babassu palms. After a while two young men were sent back to inspect the state of the fields. When they got to the river, they decided to cross without the trouble of making burity leafstalk floats, merely swimming unaided. Tying their few possessions to the tips of their bows, they began to swim; but when they were precisely in midstream a huge sucuriju (*Eunectes murinus* = anaconda) loomed up out of the water near by. Then the man named Pore'téy said, "If the sucuriju devours one of us, the other shall not swim on but turn back at once and inform the people!" The snake got closer and closer, at last reaching and seizing Pore'téy. He let go his bow and trumpet and the snake devoured him. His companion, witnessing the calamity, at once turned back to the bank and hurried to camp with the news. Pore'téy's kin cried bitterly.

Three days later the sucuriju was lying on the bank bloated with its prey. A school of piabinhas (Characinid: *Tetragonopterus* sp.) noticed it as they swam past and reported the fact to the chief of fish, Suruby (*Platystoma* sp.), who dispatched another fish to verify the report. Then he called together all the fish and moved to the spot where the snake was lying. He ordered one fish to crawl into the snake's open mouth to find out what it had devoured. When the fish returned from the snake's belly, it reported having seen a man still alive, since his heart was still beating. Then Suruby bade one fish after another crawl in until the man's body grew loose and slippery. Finally he sent the jejú (*Erythrinus unitaeniatus;* these fish are covered with a slippery phlegm), which pushed the man out of the serpent's mouth. They moved and stroked him back to normal condition and washed him. When he had returned to consciousness and was suffering less pain, Suruby took him to his village and fed him.

The fishes and other water animals were just about to celebrate a great festival, so Pore'téy was able to witness the whole of the ceremonial in Suruby's company. He paid close attention, taking pains to memorize everything. When at last the fishes brought him back to land and dismissed him, he returned to his village and taught the Indians everything he had observed at the fishes' festival. Since then the Indians have celebrated the Fish Song.

527 575 *Personnel.*—This consists of seven ceremonial groups—the six plaza groups (menkąčą) plus the Clown society (me'kén), composed of members of all the plaza groups. During the festival the following ceremonial companies correspond to the plaza groups and are localized accordingly in the plaza.

Western	Eastern
kupẽ' = teprą̆ti (small fish species)	čõdn = čeučétre (stingray)
kétre = apą'n (piranha)	čĕ'pre = tĕ're (fish otter)
aučét = tep (fish, generically)	hąká = tep (fish, generically)

The Clowns take their position on the north side of the plaza, between the eastern and the western tep companies. The five Fish companies jointly form a unified whole, the Fish Otters standing segregated as their counterpart, and the Clowns in opposition to all the six others.

The actual leader of the Fish companies is the crier, kõyamprõ' (water foam). His appointment by the council at some log race starts the preparations for the festival. Usually the office devolves on Koipóro, famous for his strong and deep

X796 voice. He betakes himself to a certain house on the eastern side of the village that always serves as Fish lodge at a tepyarkwá, and summons the young people. All
527 except the Clowns come painted red, irrespective of their social affiliations. The
575 council further appoints two nominal Fish chiefs called tepti (= Suruby), wearing a forehead band with long points (the Suruby barbules). Four kutápti (= jejú) are appointed as messengers of the Fish (pl. 41, *a*). A girl about ten years old is likewise selected by the council to serve as girl crier (kōyamprōkuičwę'i) and is decorated with falcon down in the Fish lodge.

The girl associates of the several companies, except for the Clowns' (pl. 41, *b*), are appointed not by the members but by the council; the Fish Otters have only one girl, the other companies two each. In the plaza the councilors softly discussed their choice and in low tones communicated their decision to their herald, Pąrkré, who would trot off singing on his way to the girl designated and extend the tip of his sword club toward her, which she would grasp with her hand; thus he would lead her to her proper place. The girl associates of the several Fish companies are chosen from those houses in the village circle which correspond in their position to the company in the plaza.

Each Fish company has its peculiar songs, which they sing daily in their huts. Daily, too, they collect food, as described, on a march around the circle; and the Clowns "angle" for their share. The Fish Otters, who play a distinctive role, get their food from the other companies.

On the day of the decision to hold the festival there were afternoon log races of men and girls, followed by a relay race of the girls around the boulevard.

The next morning before sunrise the tepyarkwá was inaugurated by plaza dances. In the afternoon men and girls again ran log races, as well as relay races, and pairs of men raced clear across the plaza. Then followed the appointment of the girl associates as described—except in the case of the Clowns.

The several Fish companies and Fish Otters assembled in their lodge on the east side of the village, being summoned thither by the crier's prolonged, piercing yells. At 4:45 P.M. a loud patter of feet became audible in the house, and out stepped the crier, his maternal uncle, the girl crier and her special "friends" (kričwę'i).[24] They marched around the boulevard, the crier uttering his strident call before the maternal home of each Fish company member. Then food was brought out of each of these houses and laid on a mat in the space in front of the building. The Fish companies, in two lines, now marched slowly around the ring, headed by the crier and his companions. The crier's uncle would constantly run ahead a bit, return to the Fishes, rub together the palms of his hands, run ahead, etc. This is the customary ceremonial way of conducting any organization to a definite spot or along a definite route. One of the messengers meanwhile ran ahead, picking up the food, and handed it to the Fish before whose maternal home it had been lying.

When all the food had been gathered in, the Fishes, numbering fifty-three, marched to the plaza, forming a compact mass in its very center. The two tepti, each holding a bundle of maize cobs in his hands, ran round the group in opposite directions till they met. Then they would brandish the cobs at each other, turn face about, run in the reverse direction until they met again, and so forth.

527 *Clowns.*—In the meantime the Clowns had assembled in their lodge, also on the
575 east side, but farther toward the north. There they prepared their grotesque deco-
536 ration, including amorphous "fishing rods" consisting of a crooked, unsmoothed pole and any kind of cord for a line.

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[24] This seems to be a variant of the usual pinčwę'i. R. H. L.

X 796 575 527 536 Suddenly out of the Clown lodge stepped an old man, ridiculously made up, accompanied by a young lad and a boy who were carrying grass pouches hung from their bodies. The old man was carrying the "fishing rod" and simulated walking along the edge of some body of water harboring fish. He pretended to look for a favorable place to throw his line, but encountered all manner of mishaps. First, a tocandira ant stung him so as to make him hop on one leg screaming, then he suddenly bumped his head against a wasp's nest hanging from the branch of a tree and was naturally attacked by its inmates, whereupon he burnt up the nest. All this was done so realistically that all the spectators at once understood the intended meaning, even though there were no signs of water, wasps, or fire. When he had with comical gratification ascertained the Fishes' presence, he went to the radial path leading to his company's lodge and whistled. The Clowns answered from within, but the old man looked about in amazement in all directions, finally declaring that apparently some one in the sky had answered. Then the Clowns came out of their lodge with all sorts of absurd decoration and implements, marched to the plaza, surrounded the Fishes, pretending to throw lines, and carried on their antics in other ways.[illegible]

Suddenly Chief Hąktŏkót, representing the "old Fish Otter," ran yelling toward the Fish, whereupon the Fish Otter company, numbering some twenty men, separated from the rest and took positions on the east side of the plaza. Simultaneously the Fish societies proper gathered on the west. The Clowns picked up the victuals remaining in the center and betook themselves to their appropriate place on the north of the plaza, where they distributed and ate them. But while still en route the old Clown was "bitten by a snake" and wallowed on the ground with pain; two other Clowns approached, pretending to treat him, and sucked out of his sore foot string that was some meters in length!

345 575 On the following day the seven huts of the companies participating in the tepyarkwá were put up in the proper sites at the periphery of the plaza. They were small rectangular gable huts except for that of the Fish Otters, which was a conical framework of poles, and 6 m. high (pl. 42). At the center post (tĕ'rekuičwę'i-yapírę̆ą, Fish Otter girl's ladder) a number of tree forks had been allowed to remain so as to permit the girl (there is only one in this company) to climb up—not to serve as a lookout, as I had once conjectured, but to save herself during the impending attack on the hut by the other Fish companies. The Clowns' hut, like everything pertaining to this organization, was crooked and poorly fashioned; on [536] the gable side an old frayed basket was set flaglike on a crooked pole. Nor did the Clowns scruple to burn down their hut on occasion from sheer mischief and to put up another that was still worse-looking in its place.

[illegible] An earlier field trip by the author resulted in the following observations: Then the Fish chief and his retinue begin to make a pattering noise in their lodge, whereupon they move out to the boulevard and gather food from their mothers' maternal homes, while the Suruby holds a sweet potato between his teeth. The crier and the girl walk ahead to scout for food. When a collection has been made along the circuit, they march with it to the plaza, circle around it and take up positions in the center of the plaza. Soon the Clown headman comes with a gigantic bow "to inspect the fish in the lake." Then he steps aside a bit, and whistles through the hollow of his hands, thus calling his comrades, whom he tells how many fish there are in the lake. The Clowns with baskets slung over their shoulders and their uncouth rods in their hands now cautiously approach to surround the fish. They throw the ends of the line among the Fish, who tie vegetable produce to them. As soon as the Fish start a patter with their feet, the Clowns lift the rods aloft and collect the booty in their baskets for subsequent distribution in their lodge.

The Fish, however, disperse, grouping themselves once more on the plaza according to the six plaza groups, each spending the night at its appropriate station. On the following morning each group sends out one man to hunt, while the other members erect a little hut at the plaza site belonging to each group.

X796 527 575 832 In these huts the members loafed much of the day with their girl associates, who prepared the collected food, painted them, romped with them, and for the most part were not averse to a bit of philandering.[illegible] The teprâti, however, bitterly complained that Kahęrkwę'i, one of their two associates, was extraordinarily unaccommodating, would deprecate love affairs, and simply ran off when the members would not leave her alone. Thereupon they went to the council and begged for the appointment of a substitute, so Kahęrkwę'i was superseded by Aĕukwę'i, who is considered a veritable gem in point of amiability. As a member of this company I spent much time in the hut and was able to observe all of this episode at close range.

575 527 Eight days later the Clowns again indulged in mad pranks. Secretly assembling near the village, in the woods by the bank of a stream, they put on their grass ornaments, that is, bandoleers, wristlets, knee bands, cravat, and forehead band with two erect brushlike tassels and long temple fringes, all of burity bast. Moreover, each Clown made for himself a pole 2 to 3 m. long; it had poker-work designs and a grass tassel below the tip. The two girl associates whom they had meanwhile selected were decorated with falcon down. Besides their cord girdles with short leaf apron, they wore forehead bands, wristlets, and bandoleers like the men's; also they were decorated with false queues over a meter in length, which except for the enormous terminal tassel were wrapped with bast and hung down to their calves. Their bandoleers resembled those of the precentresses, but were coarsely plaited of bast and had huge bast tassels.

831 515 536 The Clowns usually choose ex-vų'tę' for their girls, conducting them from their homes with absurd antics. But at the time of the last performance witnessed, one of these women had recently been delivered of a child, so the members substituted a young married woman named Kąyarí. A jolly lass, she compensated for the shortcomings of the other associate, the ex-vų'tę' Repíya, who somewhat resembled the above-mentioned Kahęrkwę'i in disposition, so that she was little qualified for the part of a Clowns' companion.

For sheer mischief one of the men could not refrain from putting on a girl's leaf apron, producing the same effect as a civilized man would in a woman's clothes. I explicitly emphasize that this was pure buffoonery and in no way betokened a "berdache." By way of contrast to this "bashful" Clown, another sheathed his penis in a long, slightly curved *Lagenaria* tied on so as to form a phallus 30 cm. in length.

However, the main decorative piece of this company was a female doll 60 cm. in height and carved from the pith of the burity. Its face was painted with urucú, and the figure wore beaded cords around the neck, chest, wrists, and knee joints. Kąyarí acted the part of the doll's mother.

In the afternoon the Clowns suddenly marched into the village and went to their hut, where they presently enacted a series of extravagant family scenes, such as I had fortunately never witnessed in real life among the Rąmkō'kamekra.

First, the doll's "kin" furiously attacked and beat up the "mother" for maltreatment of her child, whom she was accused of having thrown down and otherwise abused. Others took the mother's part, and she herself was not backward in vigorously defending herself, most disrespectfully dragging an old Clown along the ground by one of his legs. There ensued a scene of adultery. One Clown conducted the "mother" behind the hut, where both lay down and simulated cohabitation. Another man arrived and relieved the first. Then the transgression was discovered, precipitating a first-rate row. Finally, the "mother" devotedly sat down, took up her "child," and "nursed" it.

[illegible] According to earlier notes, one of the male members put food into the girls' mouths.

X796 During the entire festival the Clowns sing pepkahą'k songs every evening, in memory of the pepkahą'k festival, at which they also play a great part (p. 221 ff.).

575 527 292 The Fish Otters wear forehead bands of cotton string. From these ornaments two arara tail feathers hang down the back by long cords; almost reaching the ground, they form the tĕ'reyapį', that is, fish-otter tail. These feathers, nowadays very valuable because the arara is virtually extinct, have a long history. In 1934 they formed the age-class leaders' occipital ornament at ketúaye. After the close of this initiation they were made over into an ornament called hąkyará, which goes around the forehead and down the back; the council allots it as a distinction to the best precentor in the village. This man danced and sang with it for two years, then he gave it to the Fish Otters for use as a head ornament in tepyarkwá. At the close of this festival the headbands of the tĕ're fell to the Clowns' share, and by the council's orders the feathers were to be worked over to ornament a ceremonial lance (krowačwa), to be awarded to Pąčet, head of the Clowns, in recognition of his achievements at the tepyarkwá.

575 527 [252] *Close.*—When the council feels that these performances have lasted long enough, they set a date for terminating the festival. Game is hunted and vegetable produce brought from the farms. With these materials fish-shaped meat pies are made in the maternal homes of the Fish membership: the lumps are put into a mold of cipó (*Paullinia pinnata* L.) in fish form and burity bast fins are fastened on.

In the meantime the Clowns have erected a camp in the woods by a brook, where they set up palm-leaf fronds as a "weir" and shape hooked implements of forked branches to represent the necks, heads, and bills of aquatic birds. One Clown enters the village to learn whether the pies are ready. He receives in every house a slice of flesh, which he ties to a pole and carries into his society's camp.

In the evening the Fish sing in the plaza to the shaking of rattles, after which they disperse to their six huts.

The following morning the Clowns disguise themselves in their camp in every possible way: they paint themselves grotesquely, clip their hair in part or altogether, or cut themselves two or three hair furrows, one above the other. With the long tufts clipped from the heads of youths they artificially lengthen their girl associates' hair. Thus they enter the village in the afternoon, camping and singing by a fireplace in the plaza. Now falcon down is glued on their girls' bodies. The Clowns bring their wooden bird heads and palm fronds to the plaza, where they quickly dig a circle of holes in the ground to plant the fronds, thus completing the weir. A good runner specially appointed by the council assumes the role of the jejú (kutápti). He is the first of all the Fish to enter his maternal home, receive the fish-shaped meat pie, take it under his arm, and run to the plaza, past the Clowns, and into the weir. Soon he steps out of it again and summons the other Fish, who now similarly fetch their pies from their maternal homes. They enter the weir with them, form a line that faces east and sing.

Meanwhile the Clowns pretend to crush the fish-drugging cipó. The Fish extend their pies toward them, the Clown girls enter first and seize one pie, whereupon all the Clowns try to possess themselves of the rest by attempting to spit them on the beaks of their bird heads. But the Fish break through the weir and try to escape with their pies.

575 527 825 About ten Piranhas (apą'n; *Serrasalmo* sp.) are gathered in a northwest house, armed with bush-knives, and try to chop up the heron heads with which the Clowns attack and drive them out. At last the two Clown girls are the first to seize two Piranhas and rob them of their pies. Immediately the Clowns rush against the

X 796 others, attempting to impale the pies on their beaks, while the Piranhas try to escape.

527 575 825 Five or six acangapáras (kaprąnpéyre, turtle; *Platemis* sp.) lie down on the plaza, face down, with their heads resting on their arms. They are supposed to be lying on their "eggs," represented by all manner of field fruits. The Clowns peck at the acangapáras with their wooden beaks, while the latter pelt their assailants with sand. At last the Clowns chase them away, and seize the "eggs."

Now the Stingrays (čeučétre; *Trygon* sp.) come out of their hut in the southeast of the plaza, some carrying in a mat wrapper a round meat pie in stingray shape, while others protect themselves against the attacking Clowns with pointed wands, their "stings." Finally, the Clowns succeed in impaling the pie, which the Stingrays abandon, and carry the pie to their meeting house.

Next figure the members of the čě'pre plaza group, whose hut is in the middle of the east side, next to that of the čödn. They come out of the hut with a long pie within a plaitwork of palm leaves; it represents a sucuriju (roti; anaconda). They march around the plaza with it and try to get back to their hut, but are attacked by the Clowns, who impale and capture the pie as their loot.

Then two Indians, holding long staffs, which are painted black below and red above, step out of the Fish lodge as Suassuapáras (pokahą'k, swamp deer; *Cervus paludosus*). They put their meat pies on the space in front of the lodge and take up places with their rods beside the pies. But as soon as they catch sight of the Clowns turning toward them, they carry the pies back indoors. However, at last the Clowns burst into the house and seize them.

Then two members of any plaza group whatsoever appear as Capybaras (kumtúm; *Hydrochoerus cabibara*). They deposit their pie in a house on the west side of the village circle, where the Clowns capture it.

Three Jacaré (mĩ; *Caiman niger*) follow, bringing a pie from a particular house on the east side. Always directed by Koipóro, they march toward the plaza, but are attacked by the Clowns en route and robbed of their pie.

Then, a single Indian, carrying a gourd bottle with water, impersonates a Skunk (pįké; *Mephitis suffocans*). He goes to the plaza, where the two Clown girls, barking like dogs, make him stand at bay. He defends himself by splashing them with water, and they flee, howling like dogs hit by the skunk's secretion. But finally the Clowns "kill" him, too.

Finally, three Indians and several girls act as Crabs (pái; *Cancer uça?*). Holding nuts of the babassu (*Orbignia speciosa*) in their hands, they strike them against each other. They come out of the Clowns' meeting house, but are overtaken on their way to the plaza and despoiled of their pie by the Clowns.

This ends the whole performance.

Variant.—There is another, simpler form of this festival. While in that described the plaza groups oppose the Clowns, and the eastern opposes the western plaza groups in all log races during the festive period, the simpler form substitutes the eastern and western *age classes*. In this case only two huts are erected in the plaza, that of the Ticks (tẽre; *Ixodes* sp.) on the east, and that of the Piranhas on the west side.

V. RELIGION AND MAGIC

EARLIER SOURCES

175 771 IN THE older literature there are no usable statements about Eastern Timbira religion. According to Ribeiro,

> Nao se lhes conoce a mais pequena demonstração de culto ou religião qualquer que ella seja, pois é sua razão a esse respeito submergida no chaos da ignorancia, sendo lhes bem indifferente que o sol nasça ou que se esconda.
>
> (Not the slightest manifestation of cult or religion is known from them, rather is their reason buried in ignorance in this regard, and they are quite indifferent whether the sun rises or is concealed).[illegible]

As will appear, things are not quite so bad as all that.

177 771 About Põrekamekra religion an interpreter told Pohl the following:[illegible]

> Die Indianer erkennen ein höchstes Wesen, welches sie mit dem Namen Tur-pi bezeichnen, es wohnt im Himmel, sendet Regen, Sonnenschein und Gewitter und verschafft ihnen Nahrung. Sie glauben an Fortdauer nach dem Tode, ewigen Lohn und ewige Strafe.

I cannot confirm these statements concerning a Supreme Being and am unable to explain the term Turpi. Pohl, with whom Snethlage agrees, ascribes these doctrines to previous instruction by Jesuits from Pará.

114 771 Snethlage regards as certain a lunar and astral cult, which he infers from a nocturnal dance he attended.[illegible] This was performed in the plaza by men in a circle stepping first with one leg, then the other, while turning their bodies, gazing toward the sky, and repeatedly uttering the word katšere (star). I have vainly tried to get data from the Indians concerning this dance, which I never witnessed. Thus, I asked all the precentors for texts of songs containing the word in question or otherwise dealing with stars. The solitary chant which they cited again and again is that concerned with Halley's comet (p. 190). This, however, is sung in quite a different setting and exclusively during a pepyé celebration. Snethlage's visit, however, coincided with a Mummers' festival, such as I was also able to attend in 1935, but without noting anything even remotely suggested by his account. The procedure he saw then must have been of a quite special and isolated character. As a matter of fact, hardly any religious significance attaches to the stars among these Canella, whereas the moon does play a part, though by no means the principal one. Concerning animistic beliefs Snethlage reports nothing.

Fróes Abreu conceived the precentor of the nocturnal dances as a medicine-man and the performances themselves as prayers (rezas in Indian parlance). He heard of a celestial god who was the father of all humanity, but was unable to get further information. Nor was Pompeu Sobrinho able to extract relevant data. He erroneously regards the syllable vrį in pųduvrį′ (büt'êra in his orthography), moon, as a feminine suffix, whence he conjectures that a male sun and a female moon are connected with Canella religion. Finally, Abbé Étienne Ignace declares: "Ce sont des catholiques ayant conservé des practiques supersticieuses."[illegible]

CELESTIAL BODIES

771 171 Compared with, say, the Guarani, the Rąmkō′kamekra certainly have very little religion, being in this respect inferior also to the Serénte and even to the Apinayé.

[illegible] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 9.

[illegible] Pohl, Reise, 2:209.

[illegible] Nordbostbras. Ind., 184.

[illegible] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 180 f.; Sobrinho, Merrime, 14; Ignace, Les Capiekrans, 478.

771 Their public cult performances may be counted on the fingers of one hand, and
171 several years elapsed before I discovered a private act unrelated to animism.

The Sun and Moon myth of the Eastern Timbira greatly resembles that of the
773 Apinayé[illegible] and Serénte. I heard it not only among the Rąmkō'kamekra, but also
171 wholly or in part among the Pųkóbye, Kre'pų'mkateye, Krĕyé of Bacabal, and the
Krahō'. Both characters are conceived as male and as unrelated to each other. In
Rąmkō'kamekra myth they create mankind by diving in a brook, in a Pųkóbye
variant, from bottle gourds in a plantation; but in none of the other six episodes
of the myth do they in any way work for the benefit of humanity. Nevertheless the
[776] Rąmkō'kamekra regard themselves as primarily dependent on the Sun (Pųt) and
in much lesser degree also on the Moon (Pųduvrí).

The purpose of all the general cult performances is to invoke the heavenly
782 bodies to protect food plants and animals. These acts comprise prayers to the Sun
776 for rain (p. 62), for protection of game animals (p. 71), and on behalf of wild
796 fruits (p. 72); and to the Moon to prosper the crops when maize has grown to about
3 feet in height (p. 62).

On the other hand, there was no trace of religion at the maize-planting ceremony
789 (p. 62), nor was the hōčwá ceremony on behalf of the sweet-potato crop at all
527 related to Sun and Moon worship, though it does bear a magical significance
(p. 63).

During the entire period of my stay I witnessed only two instances of a person's
782 supplicating the Sun. The first time a young woman was praying for a child
776 (p. 130); the second time I heard a mother instructing her approximately seven-year-old son, who had been ill for a long time, to invoke the Sun as follows:
"Kédeti! Iymą ampō'ño, vatoekńne iypey! (Grandfather! Give me a remedy so
that I'll recover!)" Further, I learnt that, when putting the mats soiled at the delivery into the fork of a steppe tree, the mother of a lying-in woman supplicates the
Sun, as stated (p. 106), to protect the newborn infant.

The prayers have no fixed text, the suppliant addressing the Sun spontaneously
as though conversing with an ordinary person. Thus some address him as pa'pám,
[787] Our Father; others as Kédeti, Grandfather. I have never heard of any Rąmkō'kamekra seeing Sun or Moon in dreams or visions.

There is little knowledge of the course of the heavenly bodies. Time is reckoned
821 by lunar phases and by seasons (rainy and dry). They do not know how many full
805 moons there are in a year, being handicapped by their aboriginal number system,
which does not go beyond four. They do not ponder the nature of the solar body.
They know approximately where the sun rises and sets during the wet and the dry
season, but they do not empirically determine the solstice or use it in time reckoning.

821 The younger age classes, regularly assembled in the plaza at sunset, always consider it fun to expect the appearance of the new moon, each youth vying with the
rest to discover it first. As soon as it is detected, everybody raises his hands and
utters piercing shouts "to give pleasure to the Moon."

821 The moon spots are explained in Rąmkō'kamekra myth (p. 244) and somewhat
differently by the Krĕyé of Bacabal.[illegible] No explanation was obtained for the lunar
phases.

796 A lunar eclipse is called pųduvrį hitįk, that is, dying of the moon. In 1935 I witnessed one and went purposely to the plaza to sleep there. Since the sky was somewhat clouded, the Indians did not notice what was going on until the darkening

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 158.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, Vokabular und Sagen der Crengêz.

821 796 was considerably advanced. I heard one of the padntųktíma arousing his companions and directing their attention to the phenomenon. For about five minutes they were watching without knowing what to do, then one of them ran off to bring and question an old great-uncle. At once the village grew animated, voices became audible, fires began to blaze, the chiefs and councilors assembled and summoned a precentor. Gradually the entire village foregathered in the plaza. Forming a circle round the precentor, some fifty men and youths danced unremittingly while singing, "pųduvrį kayĕ′! pųduvrį kayĕyĕ′ riwahá neymą̆′ pųdupére!"

Others made bundles of from four to six large and empty gourd bottles and used them as loud rattles. In the meantime the total eclipse had set in. Round about the squares in front of all the houses huge fires were blazing.

An old man appeared, followed by two women, each leading by the hand a girl of eight or nine. The girls lay down on their backs on a mat that was extended on the plaza for them. Two or three youths made a number of incendiary arrows, wato′hą′ra, by sticking kerneled corncobs to the tips and igniting them at the fireplaces. These missiles they shot incessantly at the moon, boys picking them up again. Since the moon was in its zenith, the arrows fell back into the crowd, which had to guard against being struck by them. As soon as the moon began to reappear from the shadow, the general excitement abated, but the chanting continued until after 3 A.M., when the moon was again quite undimmed. The two girls likewise remained until then; I was told that the moon "took" them and then recovered. No subsequent obligations devolve on them.

[171] According to Kissenberth[illegible] the Northern Kayapó, singing chants of lamentation and prayer, shoot burning arrows at the moon during an eclipse in order to restore its light and prevent its death, whereby it would tumble on them and destroy everyone.

821 I have never experienced a solar eclipse among the Timbira. It was interpreted to me as a struggle between sun and moon; the last time "the big star that accompanies the moon" had also taken part. In contrast to practice during a lunar eclipse no steps of any kind are taken; the people simply wait in great anxiety for the passage of the phenomenon. Children must not look at the darkened sun.

In 1910, Halley's comet caused great alarm. The Rąmkō′kamekra were afraid of a world conflagration. At that time a precentor long since dead revived the song alluded to above (p. 190): "The star is already setting (the earth) aflame!" Usually this comet is called kačĕ′ti kamakum because its tail is conceived as smoke (kum).

Meteors (a′krą̆) flashing above the horizon excite little concern. Only when they pass near by are the people vaguely afraid of some noxious influence.

821 772 When a shooting star glides across the nocturnal sky it is said to be a star running to the other side of the sky to get married. Thus, they divide the heavens into exogamous moieties like those of their own village circle.

The Rąmkō′kamekra do not distinguish the major planets and know only a few constellations, of which the Pleiades (krot) are the most important. When they become visible above the western horizon after sunset, this is taken as a sign that the rainy season is approaching and that it is time to make clearings for planting.

The Milky Way with its dark spots is interpreted as an ostrich (mą̆ti) whose head lies below the Southern Cross. If some night this ostrich should begin humming, it indicates that humanity is to be destroyed. He has already done so once, dragging one wing over the earth and thereby killing many people. Beside him stands a babassu (rõnti; *Orbignia speciosa*), formed by the constellation Scorpion

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[illegible] Kissenberth, Araguaya-Reise, 55.

821 772 without the stars of the hook on the tail. It stood along the ostrich's path and he threatened to knock it down, but it begged to be spared since it would kill many people if it fell to the earth. Accordingly, the ostrich passes close beside this palm.

Another constellation near the galaxy, which I was never able to grasp, is called kapûre (= jahó, *Tinamus* sp.).

In Magellanic Cloud they see Auké's ashes (p. 245).

821 789 Against lightning, which they greatly fear because of its frequently observed effects on steppe trees, they resort to magic. A native will put the leaves of olho de boi (ropnto, jaguar eye) on his head and wave them toward the thunderstorm, saying, "mekričwąye, amekaprinare witáiye!"

821 The Krẽyé of Bacabal have a tale in which the storm figures as a tapir. The same story was heard among the descendants of the Gamella of Vianna.[illegible]

772 The rainbow (tanyõčwądn, person of the rain) has its two ends resting in the open mouths of two sucuriju snakes, which themselves yield rain. It appears as a sign that the rain has ceased. When the rainbow disappears, two eel-like fish, pųpeyre (Neobraz.: muçum), rise to the sky, where they drop into a water hole. When there is a heavy rain they again drop back into the terrestrial water. One informant said that snakes ascended to the sky by the rainbow lest there be too many here on earth.

In the sky dwell carrion vultures under their chief, the king vulture, and falcons. They have human shape there, organize log races and celebrate festivals.

There is an underworld (ikrakripyẽ). According to a tale a man hunting an armadillo broke through the ground, tumbling into the underworld. "When he turned round, he noticed that he was on a steppe, but round about no living being was to be seen, not even a bird; everything near and far was still." The Šerénte tell a similar story, which they connect with their kwiudĕ'udá racing logs, which they derive from said armadillo.

ANIMISM

774 775 Every human being and every animal has a soul. Plants "perhaps" also have a soul, but theirs plays no part. At death the soul leaves the body through the mouth; nobody knows how and where it enters the body. The soul of a dead person, the distinct shadow cast by him, and his image are all called mekarõ. I have no evidence for belief in a temporary departure of the soul from a living body. Contrary to Apinayé theory, sickness is not imputed to temporary soul loss,[illegible] and the medicine-man's shadow is not supposed to roam about in order to learn what is going on at a distance. Accordingly, during a man's lifetime his soul does not play an independent role of practical significance.

775 [771] It becomes all the more prominent after death; indeed, communion with the souls of the dead is the most conspicuous part of Eastern Timbira religion and forcibly struck Pohl among the Põrekamekra:

> Auch hier [i.e. in the cemetery for secondary burial] besuchen die Indianer noch oft die Grabhügel ihrer entschlafenen Lieben und erzählen ihnen alle Vorfallenheiten, fest überzeugt, dass die Verstorbenen sie hören und Anteil nehmen können. Diese Sitte erschien mir stets sehr rührend, und ich gestehe, dass ich oft innig bewegt diese guten Menschen so an den Gräbern sitzen sah.

However, I never observed this form of devotion near the graves. Further, I have neither discovered a belief in everlasting rewards or punishments, such as Pohl ascribes to these natives, nor ever heard that a soft rustling noise revealed the approach of the spirits.

The spirits of the dead usually reside in village-like communities in the localities

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, Vokabular und Sagen der Crengês, 635; The Gamella, 13.

[illegible] The Apinayé, 144.

775 where they lived or were buried, that is, especially on old camp sites and in cemeteries, the will-o'-the-wisps occasionally rising from the ground of the latter being conceived as the spirits' camp fires. However, at times the souls also appear singly and in other places. Otherwise inexplicable shouting (mekaprēp), such as occasionally resounds at night in steppes and woods, is ascribed to roaming spirits. Another abode is below the water of the Lake Kukąmóroča (p. 249).

775 Apart from some peculiarities due to their shadowy character, the souls lead an existence very similar to that of the living. They are neither more nor less happy. 787 The spirits of old people, such as parents, grandparents and the grandparents' siblings, are credited with greater knowledge than is within the ken of the living; some declare that they know "everything." Accompanying their living relatives, they protect them wherever possible, drive away poisonous snakes from their path, and appear to them in waking hours or dreams in order to warn them against misfortune. Normally they are invisible; but if they so desire they can turn visible even in the middle of the day, either in their mortal shape or in some beast's. At night their sudden appearance, as a rule of but momentary duration, strikes terror into the visionary's heart, so that he will remain ill for days—notwithstanding the fact that these spirits are not hostile to man.

The story of Yawę' (p. 246) gives a tolerably clear picture of the relations between the living and the dead. The hero receives every kind of aid from the spirits and through intimate contact with them ultimately acquires the power to transform himself into an animal.

Around a dying Indian's bed the spirits of his deceased kin assemble. Sometimes, even some time before he breathes his last, they will persuade him to adopt their customs, to cease eating and speaking. These spirits accompany the corpse to the grave and, rejoicing to have the person in their midst now, they will conduct his soul to its new resting place. Souls of sucking babes are taken by a maternal uncle or corresponding kinsman. On the way to the hereafter the soul gets to a brook bridged by a thin, swaying tree; if the soul should slip off, it will be converted into an aquatic animal.

In general the relations between the living and the dead are wholly individual, but in the ketúaye they assume tribal character (p. 171). Here there are involved the totality of prospective initiates and the entire company of souls of the dead. As explained, it is difficult to get an explicit interpretation of this relationship from the present-day Indians, who obviously are not quite clear on the point. However, I cannot doubt that the principal object of the festival is to establish contact of the boys with the spirits. With reference to the last celebration, in 1934, which I was unfortunately unable to attend, an authoritative informant explained: "When the ketúaye sing in the spirit language [the ayų'k chant], the spirits approach, wishing to take away their shadow-souls. If they succeeded, the individuals in question would die at once. That is why the boys' kinswomen sit behind the boys with hands on their shoulders, while their kinsmen stand in the rear."

MAGIC

789 The sun worship of these people is not connected with magic, or at least can do with- [771] out it. In the instances on pages 131–132 one prayer is uttered accompanied by the magical use of urucú, while the other has no association with magic at all. The 774 prayers themselves are wholly devoid of magical import. On the other hand, animism and magic are intimately linked. The tale of Yawę' illustrates the derivation of curative and magical knowledge from the spirits. Persons evincing ability and

789 inclination for such communion are called kái, and their principal function is to
774 cure and ward off disease. Of the Põrekamekra, Pohl writes:

> Sie haben in den Pflanzen ihrer heimatlichen Wälder durch Erfahrung mehrere Heilkräuter
> 755 kennen gelernt, welche sie nun bey vorkommenden Fällen anwenden. So vertreiben sie z. B. das
> Fieber mit einer Dorstenia fol. rodunativ. Die Syphilis, welche leider häufiger vorkommt als man
> 757 vermuten sollte, . . . wird blos mit häufigem Waschen behandelt. Ophthalmie zeigte sich auch sehr
> 171 häufig; gegen dieses Uebel sowie gegen Schlangenbisse sollen sie auch Arcana besitzen. Zur Heilung
> von Wunden wird der gekaute (?) Samen der Bixa brasiliensis [= urucú] verwendet. Zauberformeln fehlen bei diesen abergläubischen Menschen natürlich ebenfalls nicht. Segensprechungen, Zauberformeln und dergleichen werden sehr oft in ihren Krankheiten verwendet.[illegible]

This last method I have never witnessed.

Snethlage possibly rates Timbira medical lore too highly, but his text does not indicate which tribe he has in mind.[illegible] Ribeiro says:

> Curam geralmente as suas enfermidades com a sangria, e com o semente de urucú: A sangria fazem-a com uma navalha de canna verde a que chamam taboca.
>
> (In general they cure sickness by blood-letting and with urucú seeds. They let blood with a little knife of green cane called taboca.)[illegible]

Thus this author does not mention a blood-letting bow, as Snethlage assumes. Of all the Timbira tribes the Apinayé is the only one among whom I found this implement.

755 Medical lore is little developed among the Canella. The children rarely wear
remedies and amulets attached to necklaces, wrist cords, or girdle cords. Since
757 pretty nearly everyone tries his own luck at doctoring when sick, the medicine-
753 man's role is rather subordinate. There are no pathological theories comparable
to those of the Apinayé.[illegible] The Canella views are vacillating and confused, so that they have more confidence in Neobrazilian treatment than in their own. An enormous number of plant species yield roots, bark, and leaves for medicinal infusions, which are sometimes filtered with a wad of cotton through spirally twisted palm leaflets. During a seventeen-kilometer ride with me, Kentapí from the back of a horse pointed out some twenty steppe plants on the way and indicated their medicinal use. With such remedies, so far as I was able to learn, they attempt to cure themselves and others without following any true plan.

The manifold magico-medical application of urucú has been noted (p. 52). Another plant employed in this dual role in cases of sickness, particularly in epidemics, is the sucupira tree; the strong and odorous oil of the seeds is smelled against all conceivable diseases, especially catarrhs. Threatening epidemics are warded off by smoking oneself with the incense of the burnt green foliage of this
tree or by lashing oneself with its twigs. This use rests on no medicinal virtues, but
[751] on the magical attributes of the tree, regarded by all Timbira as the symbol of
strength and resistance. Another means for acquiring the toughness requisite for long begging journeys under unusual circumstances is to swallow several small grains of rolled quartz about 3 mm. in diameter from the sand of a creek.

757 Conjunctivitis is treated by washing the eyes with water into which the molten
rosin of the jutahy tree (*Hymenaea* sp.) has been allowed to drip. Against muscu-
824 lar and articular pains the Indians apply an epiphyte (pri̧kanyi̧'; Neobraz.:
sumaré) which is steamed in hot ashes. When children at the breast fall ill, both parents drink an infusion from the bark of a steppe bush, mekakę're. The scraped bark of a small steppe tree called pekẽ'parkóp serves as a remedy for scabies, wounds on the ear loop, and head lice. Sometimes powdered charcoal is rubbed into

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[illegible] Pohl, Reise, 2:197.

[illegible] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 185.

[illegible] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 16.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 144 *et seq.*

757 824 the body. In order to recover from the exertion of a log race the runners refresh themselves with an infusion of the roots of either the graminaceous ha'túre or of another plant called poyarkwáką.

In this empirical application of remedies religion is involved only so far as pro-
755 longed, but unsuccessful, experimentation is generally followed by a consultation of the spirits either directly or through a medicine-man. If the latter's experience
[756] has not yet taught him what medicine the spirits would recommend in a given case, he will seek them out in the woods of a night in order to receive instructions. However, in nearly all cases of grave illness the patient himself attempts to establish contact with the spirits of his ancestors and to learn the proper medicine from them. This procedure, however, involves strict seclusion: the bed is surrounded with mat screens, the patient observes a diet, uses a scratching stick, and abstains from conversation with anyone. Only by following these rules can he hope to see in his dreams the persons he is seeking. He must further preserve complete silence as to his communication with them.

756 The medicine-men may apply methods besides the above-mentioned infusions and charcoal rubbings. I have several times seen Chief Hąktōkót, possibly the most pow-
755 erful medicine-man of his tribe, sucking disease out of a patient's body; or, more precisely, *heard* him, for his treatment was always shrouded in darkness and became perceptible only through a horrible sipping sound. The doctor never exhibits the extracted object, for it would strike the spectator with blindness. In the Yawę myth the hero, after becoming a medicine-man by contact with spirits, kneads out of his brother-in-law's body the head of a paca which had entered it because the man had eaten food with blood-stained fingers. Others are said to remove sickness with their hands and to throw it away in the direction of the wind. Blowing on the body also occurs for remedial purposes.

757 The doctor is compensated only for successful treatment.

Against the epidemics brought in by the Neobrazilians—smallpox, measles, the
177 grippe—the Canella admittedly lack remedies individually applicable. From the Neobrazilians they have adopted smoking the house with a burnt cow horn against epidemics generically. Another loan from this source, against measles, is a decoction of weathered dog excrements to be drunk by the patient, whose treatment is completed with Indian remedies, his body being smeared with the grated leaf-shoots of the paty palm, over which they spread the milky juice of a *Sapium* species, finally rubbing in pulverized charcoal.

755 When in dread of an epidemic the entire village is subjected to a collective cure in the plaza. In such circumstances Hąktōkót walked around the assembled throng,
756 smoking from a funnel of paty-palm leaflets and waving away the disease with his hands. When the smallpox broke out in 1935, the people made a fire in the plaza, threw quantities of green sucupira twigs into it, and exposed themselves to the dense, white smoke. Then the medicine-man, holding a bunch of twigs of this tree, spread his legs wide apart, whereupon all the villagers, male and female, irrespective of age, had to crawl on all fours between his legs, receiving a few lashes on their backs with the twigs.

Another means of arresting the epidemic is to set up a staff from the rib of a bacaba palm leaf on the road by which the disease is expected to approach the village.

888 A few words may be injected on the supposed killing of old and sick people. Canella tradition does not mention the custom. In myth, Yawę' when hopelessly sick is abandoned by his tribe when it shifts its settlement, but is provided with water and food, and after a while the people call in order to look after him. Accord-

888 ing to Ribeiro[270] the starving Rąmkō'kamekra, succumbing to the smallpox and pursued by Neobrazilians, killed their sick:

> Qualquer dos que enfermava durante suas marches, deitava-se no chão pondo por cabeceira uma pedra, e panham-lhe então os amigos e parentes outra grande pedra na cabeça com a qual lh'a esmagavam, e o deixavam alli descansande e livre das suas dores: este fim teve o maioral Tempé com todos os outros gentios seus mais notaveis collegas.
>
> (Whoever fell sick on their marches lay down on the ground with a rock for a headrest, then his [734] friends or relatives took another large rock with which they smashed his head, letting him rest there free from his pains. This was the end of Chief Tempé [error? cf. p. 32 f.] and all the other Indians who were his foremost companions.)

However, this took place in a situation more desperate than any known to the tribe before or after, hence does not prove the customary killing of the sick. Another case cited by Ribeiro[271] relates to the Gamella of Vianna, hence is irrelevant.

888 Snethlage quotes a tale heard "von einem durchaus zuverlässigen Farmbesitzer" to the effect that one day a Rąmkō'kamekra left his work to go home and kill his 114 father, who was too weak to remain alive. The story seems hardly credible; even if the intention was a reality, the Indian is not likely to have ostentatiously informed his Neobrazilian employer of it.[272]

SNAKE SHAMANS

755 Kwųikō', a man of about forty-five, has the reputation of having special relations with snakes, communicating with them clandestinely, and owning remedies against 756 snake bites. He is generally regarded with fear and mistrust. People may not seek his friendship, but at least they try not to incur his enmity; the majority, I believe, would be afraid to deny him a request lest he take it in ill part and send a poisonous snake to meet them. Kwuịkō' rather unscrupulously exploits this attitude, imposing on his tribesmen all sorts of transactions with him that always result to their disadvantage. Though for a long time aware that he neither keeps a promise nor sticks to a bargain, they lack the courage to refuse doing business with him.

123 He applied the same technique to me on learning of my interest in his knowledge, 756 offering me in exchange an object he did not possess, demanding prior payment, which he received, and then regarding the matter as settled. When I demanded the return of the payment, he obeyed without protest, smiling his peculiar sweetish smile. Kentapí, who had urgently tried to dissuade me, was most upset by my procedure: Kwuịkō' was sure to take revenge; and when I said that was precisely what I should like to see, she added that if he failed he would take it out on her. Because of his sneaky conduct and unscrupulous mendacity I was unable to learn details as to his intercourse with the venomous snakes.

755 During my stay I saw him professionally active on only three occasions. The first time he called me to witness the act. A fortnight before my arrival a snake had bitten an Indian in the leg. He was seated on a racing log behind the house, with his leg extended. Kwuịkō' knelt before him and sucked out of the injured spot, which was still swollen, the "snake poison" still inside. A boy of about ten, the shaman's disciple, was standing beside him. After a while he rose, expectorated the "poison" into his hand, and put it into his pupil's mouth to be swallowed. The boy obviously had a horror of it and after several unsuccessful efforts he pushed the "poison" out of his mouth with his tongue. I forestalled the shaman by immediately [123] removing it from his lips and at once recognized it as a bit of pink paper such as I was using to write on.

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[270] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 60. [271] *Ibid.*, § 24. [272] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 186.

755 Besides suction these people know but a single remedy against snake bites. The
757 pulverized charcoal of a horse bean called kaňĕ'kate is tied on the sore spot and is drunk in water. The natives themselves have little confidence in this procedure. When Kentapí had been bitten by a snake and was bleeding from the mucous membrane, she asked me for some petroleum, which she drank according to Neobrazilian usage in such cases.

756 On one occasion I saw Kwųkö' safeguarding the whole population against snake bites. All of them were assembled in the plaza in two parallel, facing lines extending
755 north and south. The shaman walked behind the lines from one person to another; he had two little leather straps and for the space of a moment put one around an ankle of each person in turn. Like other medicine-men who undertake collective treatments of this order, he did not receive any remuneration. Subsequently, I had no difficulty in obtaining the straps in exchange.

The third time I observed him doctoring a woman suffering from violent toothache. He lanced the swollen gum with a snake tooth neatly and firmly mounted on a rod the length of a span; this implement, too, I was able to get by barter.

756 The pupil whom Kwųkö' intended to train showed no inclination for the shaman's profession, hence was allowed to go. Hąktökót also had a disciple, about thirteen years old when I first saw him in action. Even then his master allowed him to execute a collective cure against a menacing epidemic. All the villagers were standing crowded together in the plaza, while the boy ran round them, waving a sucupira twig. Hąktökót told me a pupil had to abstain from meat pies and any other form of meat for at least a month; he must refrain from sex relations and daily rub his body with the small pieces of a yellow root in order to be visited by the spirits, who at last would appear to him in a dream. After announcing this result in the plaza he would be acknowledged as a shaman.

755 Compared to the training imposed in other tribes, the course of a Canella pupil
177 is rather easy and simple. Again and again one is impressed with the slight interest in supernaturalism manifested by these Indians. This was also illustrated during the Guajajára visit. Among these Tupí neighbors conditions are quite different; their shamans, who operate with tobacco narcosis, temporary departure of the soul from a living body, possession by animal spirits, etc., attempted to impress their hosts with an exhibition of their powers. One of them appeared with two assistants, smoked and rattled convulsively, then blew thick clouds of tobacco smoke into the assistants' open mouths. They fell as though dead, and he resuscitated them. The hosts, however, never dreamt of taking all this seriously; they merely took great pains to learn Guajajára melodies for subsequent use as dance songs, but otherwise the performance meant mere fun for them.

SORCERY

754 Sometimes the spirits give a shaman a disease substance "to be reared" by him. It is said somewhat to resemble rosin. The medicine-man can then use it to afflict personal enemies by blowing it in the desired direction through the hollow of his hand or by furtively interring it before the victim's door or in the plaza. The person bewitched will then die from some unascertainable disease. According to the mode of application such magic may affect single individuals or the entire village.

On the other hand, clippings of hair or other parts severed from the body are
754 never used in sorcery.

682 As soon as a person is seriously suspected of having compassed another's death by sorcery (hŭĕĭ), his life is forfeited among all the Timbira, the council decree-

754 682 ing his death. Several trustworthy men selected from the number of ever-present would-be executioners unexpectedly club the criminal down either in the plaza or from an ambush on the road. They immediately cut out his eyes or at least blindfold him to deprive the shadow of sight, sometimes they make cross-shaped gashes in the palms of his hands, and then he is interred in a pit without further ceremony. The killers paint themselves with charcoal and go into seclusion for a month.

[578] Suspicion of sorcery almost invariably falls on alien Indians resident in the village, very rarely on a tribesman. Because of this fact I never cease wondering at the temerity of natives who, despite their notoriously mistrustful nature, venture to marry outside their own group. In the exceptional cases a magician apparently charges a tribesman with the death not from jealousy, but rather from fear of being himself accused of sorcery. The Canella told me about a case where this was so obviously true that only the Indians' blind dread of sorcery prevented their recognition of the fact. The accuser in this instance achieved a double success: he got rid of a colleague who, unless forestalled, would probably have prepared the same fate for him; and through the "discovery" of the evil magic which the sorcerer was supposed to have buried in the plaza the accuser gained great esteem for his services.

754 828 In 1903—only a few years after the advent of the Čą'kamekra—a certain Kavų'i of that tribe who had married a Canella woman was killed for sorcery, after having allegedly in the course of a trifling dispute threatened his wife with evil magic. In great alarm she told her relatives; some time after she fell ill and died. Thereupon her relatives on the occasion of a log race killed her husband without ado, without consulting the council or the then chief, Delfino Kōkaipó. Since the latter disapproved of the execution, he obliged the killers to pay wergild to the slain man's kin.

In 1927 the Apą'nyekra suspected Vacca Preta, a Ramkō'kamekra living among them, of evil magic, killed him with a gun, and cremated the corpse. Thereupon the three Ramkō'kamekra chiefs, accompanied by a number of tribesmen, marched to the Apą'nyekra village and forced the people to surrender the killer, but finally, after some persuasion, they were satisfied by an indemnity.

In the former days, however, such occurrences might evoke prolonged intertribal feuds. A Kre'pų'mkateye whom I knew was a little boy when his uncle was killed by the sorcery of another Timbira tribe, whose name was kept from me in view of my intimate contacts with most of the groups. The boy was trained to regard vengeance as an obligation, which he had discharged several years before my visit, killing two members of the guilty tribe (Krẽyé of Cajuapára) with the assistance of several of his tribesmen. This happened at least fifteen years after the uncle's death.

I have never seen the Ramkō'kamekra so incensed against Brazilian law as when I explained that the Government would not tolerate the execution of sorcerers. "What is to become of us then?" asked chief Kukrăčą'; the evil magicians will kill us all, by and by."

MISSIONS

797 114 *Catholic.*—Notwithstanding Pohl's and Snethlage's statements, I can find not the slightest historical or ethnographic proof of the influence of Jesuit missionaries on any Timbira tribe. Demonstrably the Jesuits have never maintained a mission among any of them; and it is hardly to be supposed that they would have achieved as transients what the Capuchins failed to accomplish in the course of decades.

The first missionary who demonstrably concerned himself with the Eastern Timbira is the ecclesiastic mentioned by Ribeiro:

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Auxilliando a capitania a conversão do gentilismo, que circumvizinhava a referida povoação de São Pedro de Alcantara a qual ainda então pertencia aos seus limites, não se descuidou de nomear e pagar para os ditos fins a um capellão ou vigario; porem que faria Sua Reverendissima neste caso? Excitou por dois ou tres annos todas as expedições que pôde sobre aquelles desgraçados para captival-os, e depois fugiu para o Pará em Junho de 1815, levando numa embarcação furtada a vender muitas destas ovelhas escravas que adquiriu como assentado ser este o derdadeiro modo de approveitar o seu rebanho. Não foi só este pio sacerdote que teve taes e ainda peores sentimentos; porque certo commandante de Indios que iam a pacificar-se, nos relatou que fora muitas vezes induzido pelo seu mesmo capellão para os envenenar, o livrarem se do trabalho de os doutrinar e soffrer.

(In order to promote the conversion of the pagans living near said settlement of São Pedro de Alcantara [now Carolina], then still within its boundaries, the Capitanía [Goyaz] did not fail to appoint and pay a chaplain or vicar; what, however, did His Reverence do in these circumstances? For two or three years he fomented all raids possible against these unfortunates in order to capture them and finally, in June 1815, he fled to Pará, taking with him in a stolen vessel many of these enslaved sheep of his, which he had acquired as described, convinced that this was the proper way to use his flock. This pious cleric was not the only one to hold such opinions and even worse ones, for a certain commandant of Indians who were about to turn peaceable, told us that their own chaplain had often tried to persuade him to poison them in order to save himself the labor of instructing them.)[illegible]

797 Beginning in 1848, the Carmelite Brother Manoel Procopio, settled in Santa Thereza (= Imperatriz), tried for several years to convert the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and the Krĩkatí, but without success.

From 1848–1875 the Krahõ′ were under the influence of the Capuchin missionary Brother Rafael Tuggia, but the only influence was a considerable admixture with Negro blood, which that missionary is said to have favored. His description of the Krahõ′ betrays incapacity to understand the Indian character and is full of gross errors. He was of opinion that the Krahõ′ should be organized in a colony.

The Capuchin missionaries of Barra do Corda have never spent more than a few hours as transients among the Canella tribes, whose children they would baptize on such occasions, once in a while also marrying a couple. Between 1896 and 1901 they had three or four Ŗamkõ′kamekra boys in their school in Barra do Corda; one of them is still living and shows no trace of their instruction. Pompeu Sobrinho erroneously reports that the Canella were once settled at the missions of Grajahú and Barra do Corda.[illegible] The Capuchins of the latter town were always concerned with the Guajajára, but their first attempt (1870) to organize a colony of them ended in 1875 with the eviction of the missionary. The second attempt (1896), based on a boarding school for the Indian children, led to a sanguinary uprising in which two hundred civilized people, including five monks and seven nuns, lost their lives.[illegible] Since then effort has been directed solely toward the civilized inhabitants, the Indian mission being completely abandoned.

In part the failure of the Capuchins was certainly due to the anticlerical propaganda of Neobrazilians, whose more or less shady relations with the Guajajára suffered because of the mission. However, the main reason is the missionaries' negativistic attitude, on principle, toward the Indian culture they confront. They feel that they have more important business than to study silly Indian superstitions and Indian customs.

Protestant.—Since 1924 English and Brazilian missionaries of the Heart of Amazonia Mission have been working in the interior of Maranhão; they, too, have concerned themselves mainly with the Guajajára. Unsupported by the Government, they proceeded more cautiously than the Capuchins, but they, too, were obliged to

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[illegible] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 56.

[illegible] Merrime, 8.

[illegible] Monza, Massacro. Zani, Alto Brasile, 95–195.

777 give up their mission in Colonia because of the hostile attitude assumed by the Guajajára. An attempt to settle among the Krĩkatí was frustrated by the dispersal of that tribe in 1930. Since 1924 the missionaries have been also interested in the Krahõ',[306] where two Neobrazilians, Zacharias Campello and Francisco Collares, have been operating, but in 1930 I was unable to detect there any influence on the native modes of thought. Collares was repeating the old Capuchin error in trying to transform the Krahõ' villages into a colony. His attitude is illustrated by his remark to me about log racing; this must be abolished, being a barbarous, brutal sport detrimental to Indian health and tending to "exterminate" so useful a tree as the burity; in its place he intended to introduce the civilized football game. He bitterly complained that since my arrival the Krahõ' were absenting themselves from him, and tried—intelligibly enough from his standpoint—to throw all sorts of obstacles in my way. I got the impression that even then many of the Krahõ' were thoroughly tired of him. After another five years' activity he made statements about the Krahõ'[307] that prove his complete ignorance of the Indians' religious and social ideas—the part of their life which should be of foremost interest to a missionary. Not long after this he seems to have abandoned the mission, which his colleague had left some time before. In 1937 I met him again in Piabanha on the upper Tocantins, where he owned a school for Neobrazilians, a shop, and several houses, and—I do not know with what justification—presented himself as a missionary to the Šerénte.

771 The Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra have hitherto had neither Catholic nor Protestant missionaries. Such knowledge as they have of Christianity results from
177 observation of Neobrazilians and the occasional, clumsy efforts of these neighbors to impose their ideas. However, the possibility of adopting the alien faith is quite inconceivable to these Indians, in whose life even indigenous religious notions play a subordinate part. Accordingly, their supernaturalism has remained free of foreign admixture. Baptism and, exceptionally, church weddings are resorted to not for religious but solely from social motives since Neobrazilians equate pagans with the wild beasts and recognize only marriages sanctioned by the church.

The Indians do know the names of half a dozen saints, but lack any notion of their or of Jesus' personality; these names, like the Devil's, merely figure as rhetorical embellishments of their Portuguese speech, patterned as it is on Neobrazilian models. They are thus quite indifferent to the figures of Christian faith. Unlike the Šerénte, they have made no attempt to identify these—except for God the Father—with aboriginal counterparts. Auké (p. 245) is regarded as the Brazilian Emperor Pedro II. The cross does not even serve magical purposes; the little crosses and saints' medallions worn around the neck are regarded as purely decorative. This is the extent of their "Catholicism," to which Ignace refers. The Protestant songs the Indians, especially the women, try to learn, precisely as they do the heathen chants of the Guajajára.

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[306] Grubb, Lowland Indians, 29.

[307] Estevão Pinto, Indigenas do Nordeste, 214, note.

VI. MYTHS AND TALES

FIRE

773 It happened before the Indians had fire; they would dry meat on a stone slab in the sun in order not to eat it quite raw.

539 A man had found an arara nest with young birds in a cleft of a vertical cliff. He took a boy, his brother-in-law, with him to catch the birds. Chopping down a tree, he leaned it against the wall, so the boy could climb up. But when the lad tried to seize the nestlings they made such an outcry that he was afraid to touch them. The man ordered him not to delay throwing them down, and when the boy still showed fear, the man got furious, knocked the tree over, and left.

His little brother-in-law, unable to descend without the tree, remained sitting by the nest. He almost died of thirst, and the old araras circling above him defecated on his head so that maggots grew there; and the young birds soon lost all fear of him.

Then a jaguar passed by the foot of the cliff. Seeing the boy's shadow, he snatched at it when the boy moved his arm. At last the boy spat down; then the jaguar looked up and noticed him. "What are you doing up there?" he asked. "I was to capture young araras and because I was afraid to grab them my brother-in-law got angry and knocked down the tree by which I had climbed up." "Throw down the young araras to me!" the jaguar ordered. The boy obeyed, and the jaguar caught them and ate them. "Now jump down yourself!" commanded the jaguar; but the boy did not jump from fear the jaguar would eat him. "No, I shall not eat you," the jaguar calmed him, "jump down and I'll catch you!" At last the boy jumped, and the jaguar caught him between his front paws. He carried him to a creek, let him drink, washed him, and took him home.

There was a big grate of poles there with a quantity of broiled meat, and below it was glowing a huge jatobá trunk. The jaguar gave the boy a slice of broiled meat, then went hunting again while his pregnant wife stayed at home with the boy. But she could not bear the slightest noise and got angry as the boy was chewing the crisp meat. "My grandson," she shouted, raising her talons and growling at him. The boy was terrified and complained to the jaguar when he got home. The jaguar made a bow and arrows for him and told him that if his wife again threatened him, he should shoot at the palm of her hand, then flee along a road he showed him, by which he could get home. The next time the jaguar went to hunt in the woods the boy got hungry. He took a slice of broiled meat from the grate and began to eat. At once the jaguar's wife got angry at the noise of chewing, growled and showed him her claws. When she did it a third time, he shot her in the palm and ran off. Because her body was too heavy she was unable to give pursuit.

The boy took the road indicated by the jaguar and reached his home village. He told his father what had happened, that there was fire in the jaguar's house, and how good the broiled meat tasted. Then the father went to the plaza and reported everything to the men's assembly. They decided at once to bring the fire to the village.

They put up sentries along the entire route from the village to the jaguar's house, but they sent their best runner into the house; the toad went with him. The jaguar himself was away again. Then the man picked up the kindled jatobá trunk and ran away with it. The jaguar's wife begged him to leave her at least one firebrand, but nothing was left of the fire, for the toad spat at any scattered sparks in the fireplace and extinguished them. The man ran with the burning tree to the first sentry, who relieved him of his burden and ran on to the second, and so on till they all arrived in the village with the fire.

SUN AND MOON

(a) Pųt (Sun) and Pųduvrį' (Moon) were alone on the earth and knew nothing of each other. One day Moon found human tracks in the steppe. He was very much surprised, but walked on. The next day he found the same tracks. When he found them the third time, he followed them. They led to a creek with a hut beside it; inside Sun was lying with closed eyes. Moon waited until he opened them and asked, "Who are you?" "I am from here," answered Sun. "Who are you?" "I am also from here." Then they decided to remain together and to seek a dwelling place. Sun proposed to dwell separately, each building his own hut, but Moon insisted on putting up a joint hut, with each occupying half of it.

(b) While Moon was asleep, Sun went into the steppe, where he heard woodpeckers pecking. One of them had just finished a red head-ornament of feathers that gleamed like fire. Sun asked him for the ornament; the woodpecker was willing to give it to him as a present, but warned Sun not to drop it to the ground, then he threw it down from the tree. The red feather-crown came down, twisting and flickering like a true fire. Sun caught it and threw it from one of his hands into his other till it had grown cold. Then he put it on and went home with it, where he stowed it away.

But hardly had he departed for the steppe when Moon discovered the ornament. He waited till

Sun came home and then importuned him to secure a similar decoration for him. Sun at first tried to dissuade him, but when Moon kept on urging, he took him to the woodpeckers. The birds were willing to give up another head ornament. Sun stood under the tree to catch it, but Moon declared *he* wanted to do that himself. "No, let me do it," said Sun, "for you don't know how, and there'll be a mishap." But Moon would not yield, for he suspected that Sun wanted to keep the second headdress for himself. Then the woodpeckers threw it down and Moon caught it in his hands, but it got so hot that he dropped it. Then the steppe was set afire. Both fled before the conflagration and tried to hide. Sun crawled into a wasps' nest of the kind immune to fire (*Polybia* sp.?), Moon into another that was not fireproof so that the heat drove him out again. He fled on and crawled for refuge into an armadillo burrow, but there the smoke drove him out. At last he reached a river, leaped in, and swam to the other bank. It took him a long time to catch up with his comrade.

(c) Meanwhile Sun had searched the burnt steppe and found two capybaras that had perished in the fire, a male and a female. He led his comrade to the booty and bade him select one of the animals. Moon chose the female, which looked *fat*, but when he cut her open she was lean, for Sun had furtively spat on her. In the meantime Sun made a cut into the skin of the male, and at once the fat came bulging out. Then Moon asked to exchange his lean against the fat animal. Sun consented, but when he had secretly spat on this beast, too, it turned out to have only a little fat at the incision but was otherwise execrably lean, while the female was full of fat on the inside. Then Moon lay down, worn out, annoyed, and hungry, and fell asleep while Sun roasted the liver under the ashes. When it was done, he took it out, stepped up to the sleeping Moon, and dropped it on his belly, crying, "Wake up and eat!" The hot liver burnt Moon's skin pitiably. "Run and jump into the water," Sun advised, and Moon ran to the creek to cool off.

(d) At the bottom of the creek the acangapara turtle was lying buried in the sand, the water only bubbling up over her nose. "Leave it alone!" Sun warned, but his companion went there and raised it a little. Immediately a torrent of water burst forth from under the animal, so that he set it down again in alarm. But when through with bathing, he again went and lifted its entire body. Now the water came rushing forth in such quantity and with such force as to carry everything away. The current seized Moon and carried him off, while from the bank Sun vainly tried to fish out his comrade with a long burity stick he extended to him. At last the current carried him under the branches of an ingá tree, by which he pulled himself out. After a while he reached Sun with his belly burnt. The spots are still to be seen on the moon's belly.

(e) Then Sun went out alone again. He staked off a bit of woodland, made a stone ax, and let it chop down the wood. He himself went home while the ax worked on by itself, and when Moon asked where he had been he answered that he had been hunting. But Moon got suspicious and followed his trail. When he got to the woods, he heard the ax working. He cried aloud, "Who is there?" At once the ax fell down and remained motionless. Thus after a while Sun found it when he came to inspect the work. He raised it and tried to make it work again, but it remained motionless. If Moon had not meddled, our axes would still work by themselves and we should not have to bother about chopping down trees.

(*f*) Furiously Sun went home, took his club, knocked down his comrade, and covered his body with twigs; but soon he regretted having slain him. After a while Moon got up again, and bitterly complained about Sun's attempt to kill him. Sun admonished him not to spy on him ever again lest he should really be killed.

(*g*) Sun went to the watered meadow where the burity palms were standing with ripe fruit; at that time their trunks were quite short, so that one could reach the fruits from the ground. Sun ate his fill, so that his droppings acquired a fine red coloring. Moon, who had sneaked after him, found the heap of red droppings. He sat beside it, and eased himself, but his droppings were black. This vexed him: he took some of the red feces and smeared them over his own. Sun, watching from an ambush, was angered by his comrade's behavior. When Moon annoyed him with questions as to what he had eaten, he took him along to the meadow the next day. Two burity palms were standing there with ripe fruits. He made him choose one, selected another for himself, and both began to eat. But all the fruits Moon tried were ripe on only one side and hard on the other, for Sun had secretly spat at the cluster, whereas the fruits of the other palm were all equally ripe. Then Moon proposed to trade fruit trees. Sun consented, first secretly spitting at the other cluster so that when Moon plucked fruits he again found them only half ripe. Then he was annoyed and hurled one at the trunk, which immediately shot up into the air and grew to its present height, so that no one could reach the fruit with his hands from the ground.

(h) Then both went to bathe in the creek. Sun jumped in first, head over heels, and when he emerged a handsome boy of fair complexion came with him. At once Moon tried to do likewise, but the boy who appeared by his side was ugly and black. Again Sun jumped in, and brought up a pretty girl, while Moon's squinted. Thus the two continued for a long time. That is why there are good-looking and ugly human beings, well-formed ones and those afflicted with bodily defects.

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(i) At last they separated. Sun took over the daytime, leaving the night to Moon. Moon was insistent on also having daylight, but Sun told him it was not his business to choose, and so that is how things remained.

KAČẼTIKWĘ'I AND TỤKTI[illegible]

In the old days the Indians ate rotten wood with their meat because they had no cultivated plants.

There was an ugly, dark-skinned Indian; because of his appearance he was called Tụkti. One night he was lying in the plaza and looking up at the sky, where a big star was then visible. When after a while he looked up again, it had vanished. It had taken pity on the man and came down to him. Transformed into a frog, it hopped up to Tụkti and jumped on his body. He threw it off. The frog came back, and again the man hurled it away. But when it again jumped on his body, he threatened to kill it. Then the frog changed into a very beautiful, light-skinned, and very long-haired girl. "Who are you?" asked Tụkti. "I am Kačẽtikwę'i," said she. "Why are you unmarried? You are too lazy to work, I suppose?" "No," said he, "I can't get a wife because I'm so black and ugly." Then Kačẽtikwę'i said she would marry him and remained with him.

Before daybreak he hid her in a long gourd bottle, which he hung from the wall in his mother's house. When his companions called him to a log race in the morning, he lifted the cover before going away and looked in once more; and Kačẽtikwę'i raised her head and smiled at him. He closed the cover and forbade all people in the house to touch it. In his absence, however, his younger brother insisted on looking in, and though his mother tried to dissuade him he took it down and untied it. Kačẽtikwę'i again raised her head laughing, but when she saw that it was not Tụkti she immediately lowered it, for she was ashamed.

When Tụkti returned he saw at once by the cover's knot that some one had opened the vessel. When he took out Kačẽtikwę'i in the evening, she told him there was no further need to hide her since someone else had seen her. They lay down together on the platform bed. Then Tụkti's comrades came to call him to a plaza dance, but his mother said he was unable to dance because his eyes were sore. So the lads went off except for one who took a firebrand and illuminated the bed. When he caught sight of Kačẽtikwę'i, he put out the light at once, ran to the others, and told them what he had seen—that the girl was far more beautiful than any in the village. Then all came in the morning and looked at her.

Thereupon Kačẽtikwę'i inquired for the bathing hole and Tụkti led her to the creek. There on the bank stood a number of maize stalks with half-ripe cobs, but no one then knew these were edible. Kačẽtikwę'i began chewing green maize and threw the chewed kernels into Tụkti's face. He was afraid, thinking it might be a poisonous plant, and nothing could induce him to try the green maize. Then Kačẽtikwę'i took maize cobs and sororoca (*Heliconia* sp.) leaves into the village. She pounded up the maize in a mortar, made maize cakes, and taught the Indians to eat these instead of rotten wood. At first they were suspicious, but later they came to like this new fare and decided to make a clearing in the woods and plant maize.

While they were so engaged, the stone ax broke in two. They sent a boy to the village to fetch another. On the way he met an old man from the village who was sitting by the road roasting a mucura (*Didelphys* sp.) in the ashes. "What are you roasting there, uncle?" he asked the old man. "That is nothing for boys, go away," said he. "But I am hungry and want to eat," the boy answered and kept bothering the old man till he gave in. But first he got up, cut himself a stick, such as old men use for support, and put it into the boy's hand. Then he took out what he had roasted and divided it with the boy. Then the boy's hair turned white and he remained seated as an old man in the ashes beside the other. Thus another boy found him, who was sent when the first messenger failed to return, and he reported to the people.

Kačẽtikwę'i would have revealed other secrets, too, to her husband, if he had not insisted on cohabitation. As it was, she decided to return to the sky. Tụkti asked her to take him along since he would not be able to get another wife. All the women in the village wept over Kačẽtikwę'i's resolution. At night she went to the plaza and began to sing, and when morning came she and Tụkti had disappeared from the earth.

AUKẼ[illegible]

A village wanton named Amčõkwę'i became pregnant. Once bathing together with many others, she suddenly heard the cry of a wild guinea pig. Amazed, she looked about in all directions, but was unable to discover where the cry came from. Soon after she heard it again. She went home with the rest and lay down on her bedstead. Then the cry resounded a third time, and now she recognized that it came from her own body. Then she heard the child speak, "Mother, are you already tired of carrying me?" "Yes my child," she answered, "do come out!" "Well, on such and such a day I shall come out."

[illegible] kačẽ, star; -ti, augmentative, -kwę'i, feminine; tụk, black.

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When Amčŏkwę'i was in labor, she went into the woods alone. She laid paty leaves on the ground and said, "If you are a boy, I shall kill you, but if you are a girl, I'll raise you." Then she gave birth to a boy. She made a hole, buried him, and went home. When her mother saw her coming, she asked about the child and scolded Amčŏkwę'i when she heard what she had done, saying she should have brought the boy for his grandmother to raise. And when she learnt that he was buried under a sucupira tree, she went there, dug up the child, washed it, and brought it home. Amčŏkwę'i did not want to nurse it, but the old woman did it in her place. Then the little Aukĕ' addressed his mother, "Well, so you do not want to raise me?" She got frightened and answered, "Yes, I shall raise you."

Aukĕ' grew very rapidly. He had the gift of transforming himself into all sorts of animals. When he bathed he turned into a fish; and when he went with others to a farm he turned into a jaguar, thereby terrifying his relatives. Then Amčŏkwę'i's brother decided to kill the boy. As he was seated eating a meat pie, the uncle treacherously knocked him down from behind with a club, and buried him behind the hut. But the next morning the boy came back home covered with earth. "Grandmother," said he, "why did you kill me?" "It was your uncle who killed you for frightening the people!" "No," Aukĕ' promised, "I shall hurt no one." But soon after, while playing with other children, he again turned into a jaguar.

Then his uncle resolved to get rid of him in another way. He called him to come along on a honey-gathering trip. The two crossed two ranges of mountains. When they got to the top of a third, the man seized the boy and hurled him into an abyss. But Aukĕ' turned himself into a dry leaf and was slowly wafted to the ground. He expectorated and round about his uncle grew steep cliffs, from which his uncle vainly tried to get out. But Aukĕ' went home and said his uncle would return later. When he had not returned after five days, Aukĕ' magically removed the rocks and then his uncle at last came home, nearly starved.

He planned to kill Aukĕ' in still another way: he put Aukĕ' on a mat and gave him food; but Aukĕ' said he knew perfectly well what he was trying to do. Then he knocked the boy down with his club and burnt him up. Then all left the village and moved to a distant spot. Amčŏkwę'i cried, but her mother said, "Why are you crying now? Did not you yourself want to kill him?"

After a considerable time Amčŏkwę'i asked the chief and elders to have Aukĕ''s ashes brought. They sent two men to the deserted village to see whether the ashes were still there. When the two arrived, they saw that Aukĕ' had turned into a white man. He had built a large house and created Negroes out of the black heartwood of a tree, horses out of bacury wood, cattle from piquiá. He called the two messengers and showed them his estate. Then he called his mother to live with him. Aukĕ' is Emperor Dom Pedro II [reigned 1831–1889].

YAWĘ'

An Indian named Yawę' went into a plantation that had been burnt over only a short time before. There on the ground a hollow log was lying, unscathed outside, but glowing inside. As Yawę' stepped on it, he broke it, falling in so as to burn his foot. Months passed and the wound would not heal; finally he was unable to get up. One day his parents left him at home alone and went into the plantation to fetch sweet potatoes. Then two souls of dead people came to the sick man. At the door they turned into hummingbirds, then they entered and asked for his name. Yawę' answered that since they were older they were to mention their names first. Then one spirit said, "I am your grandmother, Pokore"; and the other, "I am your grandfather, Henmairõre." Then the latter brought the leaves of an epiphyte from a burity palm, rubbed them fine, and put them on the sick foot. Thereupon he kneaded it, squeezing out a live coal, and soon the pain in the foot ceased. When they heard his father coming from afar, both of them turned into little wild doves, tripped through the house, and flew away. Yawę''s father, however, noticed the birds' tracks and asked whether perchance doves had come into the house, but Yawę' answered that those were not dove tracks, but that the wind had been playing with grass stalks on the floor.

The next day, when his father had again gone out, and Yawę' was alone with his mother, he rose and went to the creek to bathe. His mother wanted to call him back, but he would not be dissuaded. Beside the road to the water were standing two spirits. They showed him a broad street, along which they led him to a place where many of the dead were assembled. The majority were horribly disfigured and mutilated. "What shall we give Yawę'?" they asked. They turned into beasts and birds of prey and went hunting. Soon they returned with rich booty, which they offered Yawę' as a gift. He, however, accepted only one parrot, one jacú (*Penelope marial*), and an agouti, telling them to eat the rest themselves. He returned with the spoils and again lay down on his bedstead. When his father, who still believed him incapable of rising, returned, and saw the human tracks, he scolded because he thought a stranger had been there. But Yawę' explained that the tracks were his own; he stated that men of his age class had given him the game.

At night two jaguars came and took Yawę' along. They killed a forest deer, giving it to Yawę', who took it home and gave it to his father in the morning, who was to take it along to the plantation and have meat pies made therefrom since Yawę' was not yet allowed to eat of it. On the other hand, he asked his brother-in-law to catch piabinha fish for him. But the brother-in-law preferred to hunt pacas (*Coelogenys paca*) and succeeded in killing two; being hungry, he cut off a slice of flesh from one, roasted and ate it without washing his blood-stained hands. Then he was seized with violent abdominal pains. When he got home, however, Yawę' kneaded his belly, squeezing out the head of a paca which he threw into the bush; forthwith the brother-in-law was free of pain.

While Yawę' was again lying on his bedstead, his wife yielded to the courting of another man in the steppe. Then Yawę' turned into a yurutí dove (*Leptotilia rufaxilla*), tripped through the house, flew up and sat on a branch directly above the pair. When the man saw the bird so close by, he said, "Would that I had my bow here as always when I was a boy! I'd shoot you and roast you in the ashes." Then Yawę' flew away. He turned into a tucandira ant (*Cryptocerus atratus*; 4 cm. long), ran to the pair, stung them in their genitalia, and escaped. When his wife got home, Yawę' had her called to her mother's home since she could no longer bear the pain. She pretended having been stung while gathering leaves. Yawę', however, directly charged her with adultery and revealed that he had been the yurutí perched above the pair.

HĄHĄ'K AND THE KING VULTURE[illegible]

An ant (*Atta cephalotes*) had crept into the acoustic duct of a man named Hąhą'k and had bitten itself fast there. Hąhą'k's ear turned full of pus, abscesses developed all over his body, and in them maggots formed. At last he grew so weak and lean that he was unable to get up. About this time his tribesmen left their old village to settle elsewhere far away. Then Hąhą'k's parents abandoned the patient. But before leaving they put him on a mat inside the house, covered him with another mat, and placed drinking water and manioc flat cakes by his side.

After a few days the caracarahy falcon (*Milvago chimachima*) reached the deserted village. He soon discovered that a man was lying under the mat, and considering him dead he called the urubús (carrion vultures, *Cathartes* sp.) so that they might jointly devour him. The urubús, however, did not feel sure about it and sent for their chief, the king vulture (*Gypagus papa*), who came and threw off the mat. When he saw the man's pitiable condition and satisfied himself that he was still alive, he took pity on him and decided to help him. First he had the hummingbird called, who, with his long, thin beak removed the ant from Hąhą'k's ear. Then he called his urubús and ordered them to pick the maggots and pus from the wounds. They had to bring water in their beaks and wash Hąhą'k with it. The king vulture then urged the sick man to eat, but he was still too weak. Then he invited him to come to the sky with him. He had to shut his eyes while the urubús on both sides of him pushed their wings under his body. Thus they flew up with him and lifted him to the sky, while others flying directly above him shielded him from the sun with their outstretched wings.

Arriving in the sky, the king vulture took Hąhą'k to his dwelling. He did not make him eat the repulsive dishes of the urubús, but entertained him with roast meat and manioc flatcakes. Hąhą'k ate and was soon completely restored. Then the king vulture ordered the carapinho falcons (*Polyborus* sp.) to make race logs and arranged a festival, which Hąhą'k attended. Only when it was over did he order the urubús to take the visitor down to the deserted village.

Meanwhile Hąhą'k's parents had enjoyed no peace. They resolved to return and see what had happened to their son and, if necessary, bring his bones with them for interment. So they moved back to the abandoned village, but found the spot empty where he had been lying. But after a while they heard him come singing. Then, they hid in terror, for they believed it was the spirit of a dead man. But soon they recognised that he was alive and took him along to the new village. There Hąhą'k taught his tribe to organise a festival like that he had witnessed among the birds in the sky; since which time the Rąmkö'kamekra celebrate pępkahą'k.

THE UNDERWORLD

A man once went hunting while his wife was working on the farm. He found an armadillo burrow, put his hand in, and grasped the armadillo by the tail. When he had almost pulled the animal out, it got away, escaping into its burrow. Now the man worked from morning till night, digging three deep holes without reaching his quarry. At last he went home thwarted and told his story to his wife. She begged him not to let the armadillo escape.

The next day he again vainly labored from morning until night. On the third day he dug still farther, not heeding the great depth of his hole. He threw the earth up, yet it did not fall back.

[illegible] Cf. Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 184.

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Suddenly he pierced the roof of the underworld (ikrakripyê) and tumbled down. He fell precisely on a burity and came to lie on its leafy top. When he turned around, he noticed that he was on a steppe, but round about no living being was to be seen, not even a bird; everything near and far was quiet. Then he discovered that he had got into another world. Hungry and thirsty, he had to linger on the palm, whose trunk was far too thick to permit climbing and far too high for jumping down. His wife notified the men of the village that her husband had already disappeared for two days. They looked for his tracks till they found the hole; they looked inside, but it was dark there.

On the second day the armadillo turned into a cockroach and in this shape fell on the man's head up on the palm. He seized it with both hands, saying, "If only this animal could bring me back to my own world!" The cockroach told him to hold it fast and when he had removed it from his head, it asked, "Do you know me?" "Yes," answered the man, "you are po'ti, the cockroach." "My name is po'ti and tôm (armadillo). You wanted to dig me up. Then I got angry and made you fall through the hole. Now I'll try to bring you back. Hold fast to my tail." The man did so, and the cockroach flew up the hole with him. It circled round the hole and ordered him to shut his eyes, then flew in and thus took him back to the upper world. It dismissed him and told him not to pursue any more armadillos.

The man returned to his village, where his kin were crying. He told how he had fallen down, that there were neither men nor beasts below, that the armadillo in the guise of a cockroach had brought him back, and that they were not to kill any more armadillos. An old man then said, "No, that's not possible. What we must do is to destroy the armadillo sorcerer lest he kill one Indian after another. No one would be able to hunt armadillos any more, for he would teach the others his trick."

Then two Indians lay down in ambush at the edge of the plantation while the man himself went to the hole, called the armadillo, and invited it to come with him to the plantation to eat soft maize. The armadillo was at first suspicious, but the man quieted it. When they were at the edge of the plantation, the two simultaneously shot at the animal from their hiding place, whereupon all three hurriedly fled from fear of the armadillo's magic. Only the following day they ventured to go there again and found it stiff and dead.

TEČWARE (SHARPENED-LEG)[illegible]

Two brothers-in-law went together to hunt in the woods. When they were camped by their fire at night, one of them saw his comrade put one leg into the fire. He shouted at him and threw his leg aside, but soon the other again stuck it in. His companion again pulled it out, but when it was put in for the third time the brother-in-law thought to himself, "Let him do as he pleases!" Then the foot was burnt up. The mutilated man seized it, broke it off, and hurled it far away under a piquy tree, crying, "Brother-in-law, a piquy fruit has dropped there!" But the answer was, "Let me sleep! Tomorrow I shall get it." But when he got there the next morning he found nothing but a charred foot.

The other man took a snail-shell scraper and sharpened his shinbone to a good point. "Brother-in-law," he then said, "if our people hunt pigs and one should come near me I'll do thus!" And he suddenly struck out with the bone point of his leg against his companion. "What!" cried this one, "I haven't done anything to you! Why do you want to kill me?" "No," the other answered, "I am only showing you the way I do!" He continued scraping the point of his shinbone and then said, "Brother-in-law, when our people hunt tapirs and one of them gets near me I'll do thus!" and again he tried to kill him with a blow of his bone point. Then the brother-in-law was terrified, turned into a rat, and slipped into the hollow of a tree.

Tečware stuffed dry leaves into the hollow and went to fetch a firebrand in order to smoke out his brother-in-law, who however was able to get out of his prison and to hide to one side. From his refuge he saw Tečware burning down the entire tree. Then he went home.

KUPẼTÍAYAPRÉ[illegible]

(a) Because of Kupẽtiayapré's attacks the Rąmkô'kamekra were obliged to abandon their village. She had kidnaped two boys in order to raise them. One day the two decided to kill one of her pet mutuns (*Mitua mitu*) in order to eat it. They roasted it by the water hole, ate it, and thoroughly washed their hands. When she brought her pet birds under cover in the evening for sleeping, she noticed that one mutun was lacking. First she went to the plaza and scented the hands of all present. Not discovering the culprit there, she went on searching from house to house. When she got to the two boys, she at once recognized them as the perpetrators and struck them on the chest with her clenched fist; but the boys did not give way.

The next day she made a lance and prepared a quantity of manioc paste, for she wanted to kill

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[illegible] te, lower leg; čwa, point; -re, diminutive.

[illegible] kupẽ', foreign tribe; tía, woman; yapré, brave.

773 539 the boys and make pies of their flesh. The boys' foster father, however, warned them to be on their guard. The next day Kupẽtíayapré threw the lance at one of them in the plaza, but he had been on his guard and dodged. Then she resolved to club the boys to death the following morning.

But at midnight the foster father called them, and all three fled. They first swam down the creek and fled on across the steppe, while the foster father returned. When Kupẽtíayapré noticed the flight the next morning, she at once gave pursuit. Along the creek she looked until she found the spot where the boys had got out onto the bank. Thence she followed their tracks by scenting. When the two saw that they were being pursued, they crawled into an armadillo burrow and stopped up the entrance with a rock. The pursuer discovered the boys' hiding place, but since it was late she postponed digging them up till the next day. At night, however, the boys came out, again stopped up the hole with a rock, and escaped.

In the evening they got to their deserted villages . . . [There follows the story of their encounter with the spirits given as one variant of the ketúaye origin myth, page 172].

(b) Two brothers, Krowapú and Kom, got to Kupẽtíayapré's village. She was plaiting a forehead band, while singing, "Wa-wa wa-wa hahané." The two first watched her, then decided to deflower her. They asked whether she would yield to their embraces, to which the girl replied she would yield to the man who beat her in a race. For this purpose she went outside the village with them. After they had gone a great distance together, the two boys said they had verily gone far enough to begin the race back to the village. Kupẽtíayapré, however, said the distance was still far too short and went on as far again. Then they started, but soon the two boys fell far behind. When at last they arrived at the village, the girl had been long sitting at her labors, singing. Then Krowapú and Kom gave up their plan.

But when Kupẽtíayapré went down to the water, they decided to steal one of her many mutums. They did so and jointly ate up the bird, whereupon they carefully washed their hands. In the evening Kupẽtíayapré called her pet birds together to their sleeping place and counted them. Then she found one lacking. She went from house to house and smelled the hands of all the inmates, and when she got to Krowapú she at once recognized that he had stolen the mutum. She spoke harshly to him, "He, Krowapú!" and with her fist struck his chest. Krowapú only returned the blow twice, then he was not able to continue, and both he and Kom received blows till they were weeping.

LAGÕA FORMOSA

In the extreme east of the old Rąmkö'kamekra area there is a lake in the steppe called Lagôa Formosa by the Neobrazilians. At one time there was an island in the lake that constantly shifted its position. On it was standing a pindahiba tree, which inclined hither and thither till its top would nearly touch the level of the water.

Once a band of hunters moved past near the lake and saw a queer animal walking along on the steppe by the lake. It resembled somewhat the great anteater (*Myrmecophaga jubata*). At once one of the hunters pursued the animal, ready to shoot, but when he got near it his companions noted with amazement that he removed the arrow from the string, which he took off the stave and wrapped around the tip of his bow; then he shouldered the bow, and peaceably walked on with the beast. At once two other hunters, their weapons in readiness, pursued the animal and the man, but with the same result. As soon as they had caught up, they lowered their weapons, took them under their arms, and quietly walked beside the animal, which marched toward the lake with its three companions, and all together vanished from the sight of the hunting party.

Later, a band of Rąmkö'kamekra were again hunting in the vicinity of the lake and camped by its shore. Suddenly they saw an Indian carrying a slain deer on his back toward the lagoon. They thought he wanted to drink there, but he entered the water and disappeared. Soon they heard a noise below the water, then the sound of a dance rattle, and of dancers; after a while the noise died away. At the hour of nocturnal dancing the sound was heard again, and once more before dawn. Then the hunters in alarm abandoned the site, for they recognized that the lake was the dwelling of the souls of the dead.

Today Neobrazilians are living by the shore of the lake; the island with its pindahiba tree has vanished, and nothing more is heard of the spirits. Probably they have moved off since the arrival of the Neobrazilians.

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GLOSSARY

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Akwẽ	branch of the Gê family
Apą'nyekra	Eastern Timbira tribe, one of the three Canella tribes
Apinayé	the Western Timbira
atų'kmakra	one of the two rainy season moieties
babassu	*Orbignia speciosa*, palm tree of great economic importance
bacaba	*Oenocarpus* sp., palm of *galeria* forests
burity	*Mauritia flexuosa*, palm species of great economic importance, especially in providing material for basketry
Canella	Neobrazilian term for Kénkateye, Apą'nyekra, and Rąmkõ'kamekra jointly; sometimes applied for convenience as synonym of last mentioned
čą'kamekra	Eastern Timbira tribe
Čąrčą	Grid (feminine name)
Čątú	Fox-belly (name of author's special hąpín, a prominent man)
čų	pendent ceremonial decoration
čų'kate	one of four officials wearing čų
Gamella	two tribes in Maranhão, possibly unrelated to each other, both distinct from the Gê, but those of Vianna are culturally similar to the Timbira
Gaviões (W.)	forest-dwelling Timbira tribe, according to legend an offshoot of the Pųkóbye or Eastern Gaviões
Guajajára	a Tupi tribe
Hąktõkót	Falcon (sp.), name of Canella chief and medicine-man
hąmkrán	special kind of racing log
hąmrén	member of ceremonial nobility
hapą'nkate	the catcher, an officer in ceremonials
hąpín	"friend" of special type, by formal ceremony (hąpínpey, special "friend"), a respect relationship
harą'kateye	western moiety or age-class moiety
harą'rumenkąčą	western plaza moiety
hõčwá	sweet potato ceremony (lit., pointed leaf)
hõyakrékate (hũyakrékate)	one of the terminal ceremonies of the ceremonial season
inambú	bird (*Tinamus* sp., *Crypturus* sp.)
jacaré	caiman (*Caiman niger*)
jacú	fowl (*Penelope* sp.)
juçara	*Euterpe* sp., palm in *galeria* forests
Kae	name of a precentor
-kahą'k	substitute, imitating; like ———
Kaingang	Southern Gê tribe, east of Paraná River, west of São Paulo and Florianopolis
ką'makra	one of the two rainy season moieties
Kapẽrtųk	Black bacaba, name of deputy commandant of pepyé
kaprąnpotíkamn	a Canella age class
Karẽkateye	extinct Eastern Timbira tribe
Kayapó	name of two distinct Gê tribes (N. and S.)
Kénkatẹye	Eastern Timbira tribe, one of the three Canella tribes
Kentapí	Stone-heap, name of a precentress
ketúaye (from: mentúa, boy)	first initiation phase; novices of this phase
kọ'ikateye	eastern moiety (kọ'i, east) or eastern age-class moiety
kọ'irumenkąča	eastern plaza moiety
kõkrį't	masquerade outfit; Mummers' festival
kokrų'tkama (kukrų'tkama)	a Canella age class

Krahō'	Eastern Timbira tribe
Kre'pų'mkateye	Eastern Timbira tribe
Krẽyé	(of Bacabal), an Eastern Timbira tribe of the northern group; (of Cajuapára), an Eastern Timbira tribe of the southern group
Krīkatí	Eastern Timbira tribe
Ķrō'rekamekra	extinct Eastern Timbira tribe
Kųkrăčą'	Bees'-nest, name of a Canella chief
Kukóekamekra	(of Bacabal), an Eastern Timbira tribe, northern group
kupẽ	alien tribe
kwę'i	woman (appears in proper names and other special designations, e.g., Mīkwę'i, Crocodile-girl; Putkwę'i, Sun-girl; kakwęiye, female member of rainy season moiety)
Kwuįkō'	name of a Canella snake doctor
kwų'nō'	"friend" by special ceremony, exercises privileged familiarity
mamkyē'ti	leader of an age class
meipimrą'k	the nonceremonial season (approximately the rainy season)
mekapónkate	instructor of an age class, "commandant"
mekuiĕwę'i	one of the two girl associates of a men's organization
menkąčą	plaza group
mepantúa	the two younger of the four sportively active age classes
me'kē'n	Clown society (lit., a water-bird species)
Nyurukwayé	extinct Gê people, once west of Tocantins, south of Apinayé
Otshukayana	extinct tribe of doubtful affinity in Rio Grande do Norte
paca	*Coelogenys paca*
Pądnhi	Arara-bone, masculine name
pąra	special type of log used in relay races (special forms: pąrare, pą'rakahák)
patỹ	*Orcus* sp., a palm tree; scrapings from the leafstalks furnish a pinkish-yellow woolly substance, used like falcon down, for which the Apinayé wholly substitute it
pau d'arco	*Tecoma* sp., the wood is used for bows
pēp	warrior
pepkahą'k	major festival, member of the performing group
pepyé	the second phase of initiation; the novices of this phase
pereá	*Cavia* sp.
pey	special (pōhįpey, native maize; pinĕwę'ipey; hąpínpey)
piabinha	small fish (*Tetragonopterus* sp.)
pinĕwę'i	female "friend" corresponding to male hąpín
piranha	predatory fish (*Serrasalmo* sp.)
pōhę'kama (pōhį'kama)	a Canella age class
pōhįtíkama	a Canella age class
Pōrekamekra	extinct Eastern Timbira tribe
Pųduvrį	Moon
Pųkóbye	Eastern Timbira tribe
Pųt	Sun
Pųtō'	name of a precentor
Rąmkō'kamekra	the principal Canella tribe (Eastern Timbira)
Ropką'	Jaguar-skin, name of Canella chief
sariema	bird (*Cariama cristata* Linn.)
sororóca	*Heliconia* sp., whose leaves play great part in cuisine
sucupira	*Cassiea* sp., tree serving as symbol of power of resistance
sucuriju	anaconda (*Eunectes murinus*)
Šavánte	Central Gê tribe
Šerénte	Central Gê tribe
taitetú	peccary (*Dicotyles labiatus*), commonly tamed as a pet and ceremonially killed
tamhą'k	King Vulture, title of honorary chief of alien Timbira tribe

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tepyarkwá	Fish-mouth, i.e., Fish-chant, a major festival
-ti	big (põhįti, big maise)
tueum	*Astrocaryum* sp., important for its fibers
-tum	ex-; mekuičwę'itum, former girl associate
vų'tę'	the ceremonial period; one of the two girl associates of an age class
wakõ'kama	a Canella age class

000

PLATES

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

(Unless otherwise noted, all are Ramkɔ́kamekra)

[p. 263 is blank]

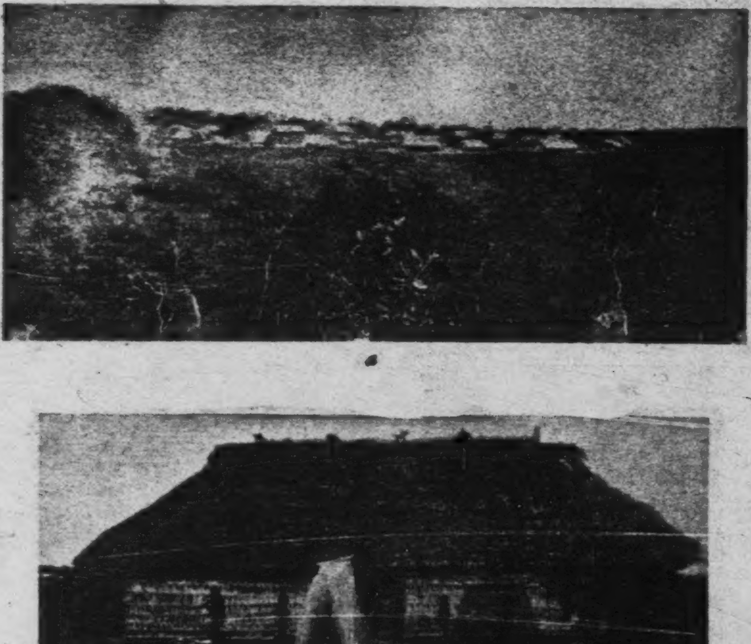
PLATE 1

000 *a.* Krahô' village of Pedra Branca, Kenpókateye horde. *b.* Typical Ponto dwelling; masquerader in front. *c.* Race track leading westward from Ponto.

361

342

526



KRAHO VILLAGE; PONTO DWELLING; RACE TRACK

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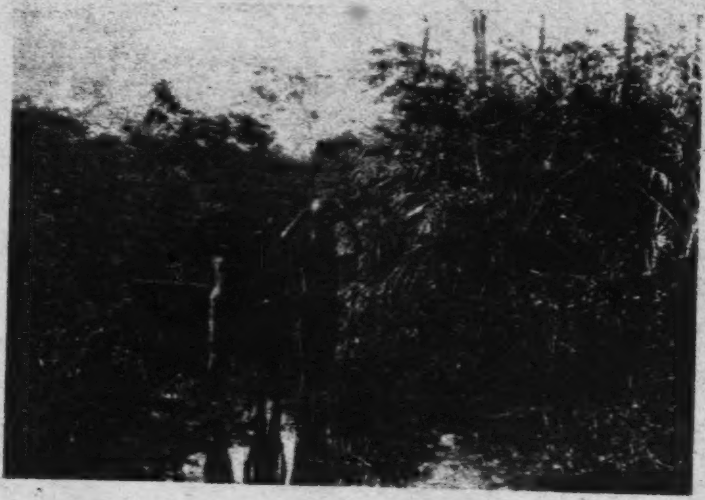
PLATE 2

a. The sink north of Ponto. *b.* Bathing scene.

572
515



a

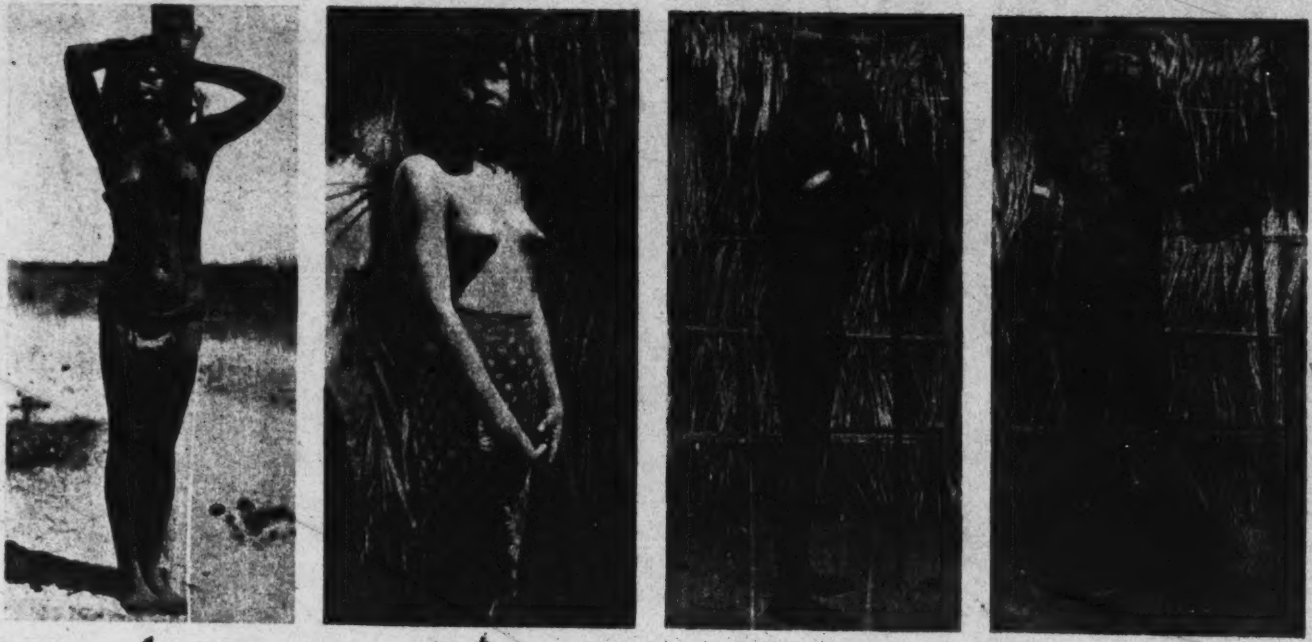
b

SINK; BATHING SCENE

180

PLATE 3

a. Teprã, in cord girdle and leaf apron, painted for a dance. *b*. Same girl in loincloth. *c*, *d*. Ropčok with forehead band, neck tassel, chest cords, armbands, wristlets, knee bands, and sword club.

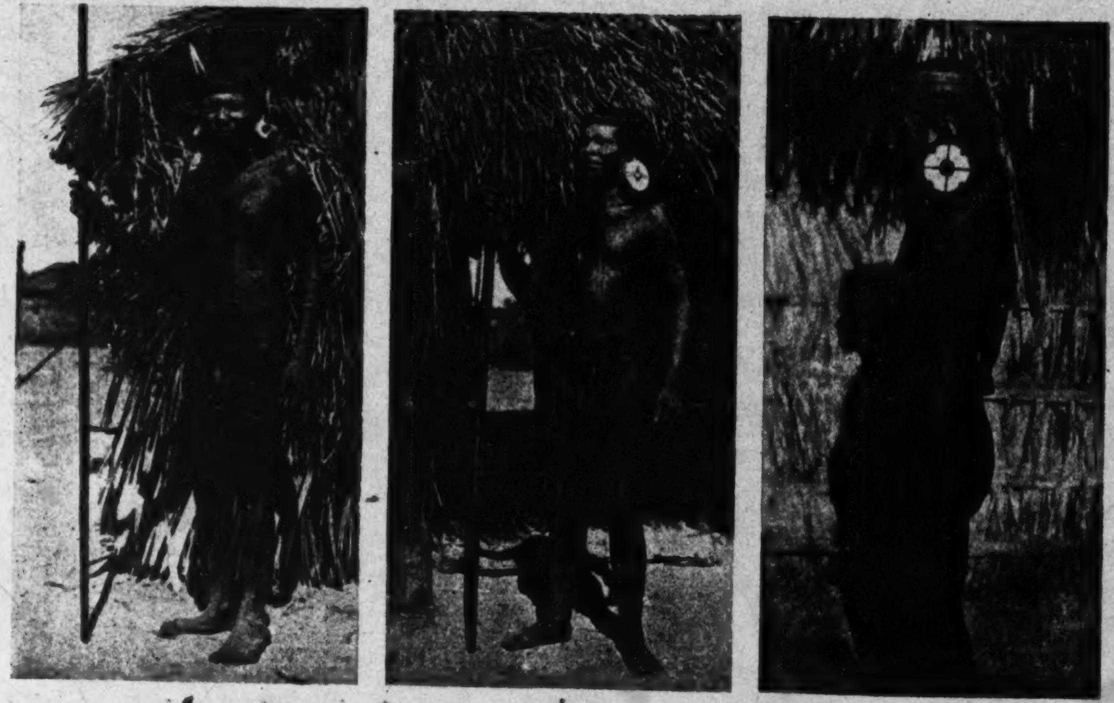


GIRL IN CORD GIRDLE AND LEAF APRON; AND IN LOINCLOTH; MAN CEREMONIALLY DECORATED m

PLATE 4

a, *b*. Kukrăčą' and Čątú. Note difference in size of earplugs at close of youths' initiation. *c*. Kuvẽ'ą man with largest earplugs (10 cm. in diam.).

304
881



MEN WITH EARPLUGS

1r Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

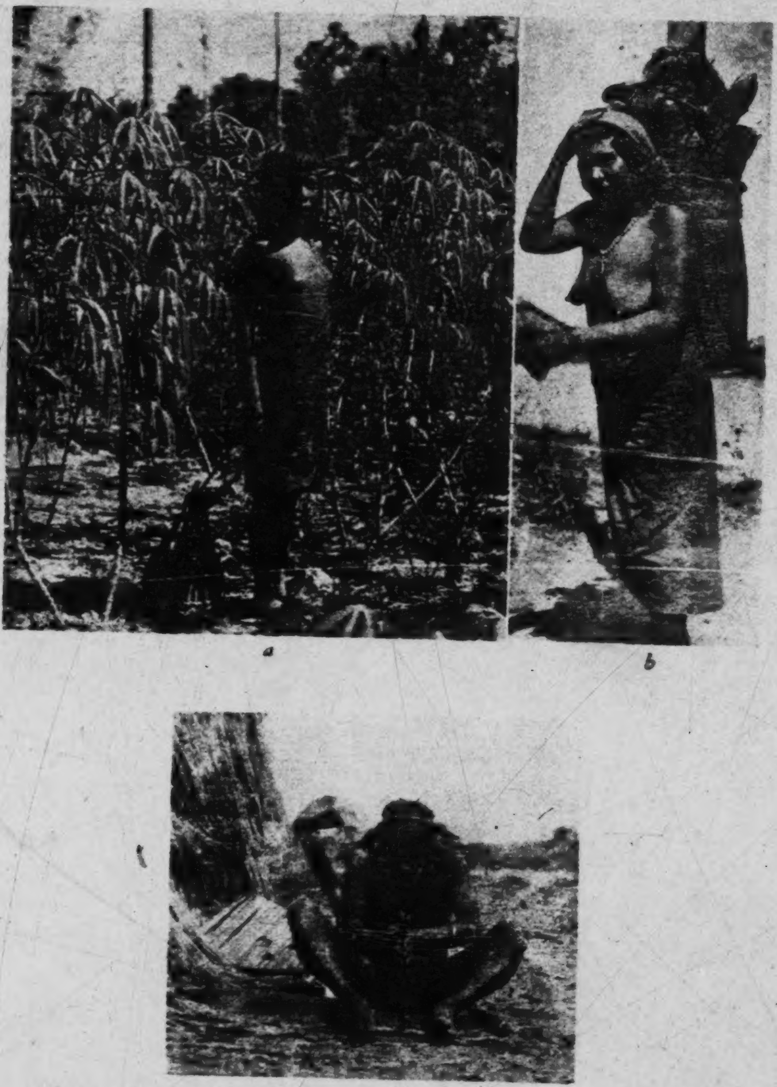
PLATE 5

ovl

a. Manioc plantation. *b*. Woman carrying home maize and manioc from plantation in carrying basket. *c*. Fire drilling.

241
482

372

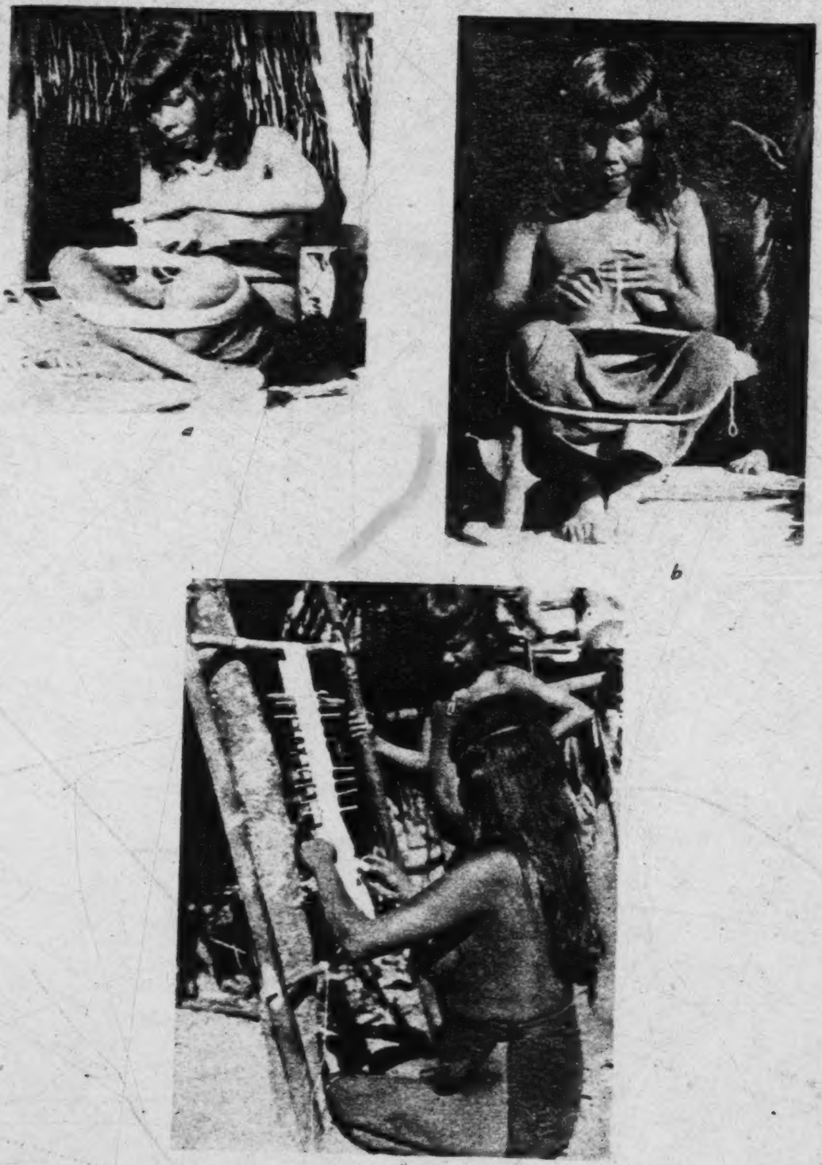


a b c

MANIOC PLANTATION ; WOMAN CARRYING MAIZE AND MANIOC ; FIRE DRILLING

PLATE 6

a, *b*. Manufacture of precentress's ceremonial decoration with aid of loop of cipó creeper instead of frame. *c*. Manufacture of this ornament within a frame.



MANUFACTURE OF DECORATION WITH AID OF CIPÓ LOOP; AND WITHIN A FRAME

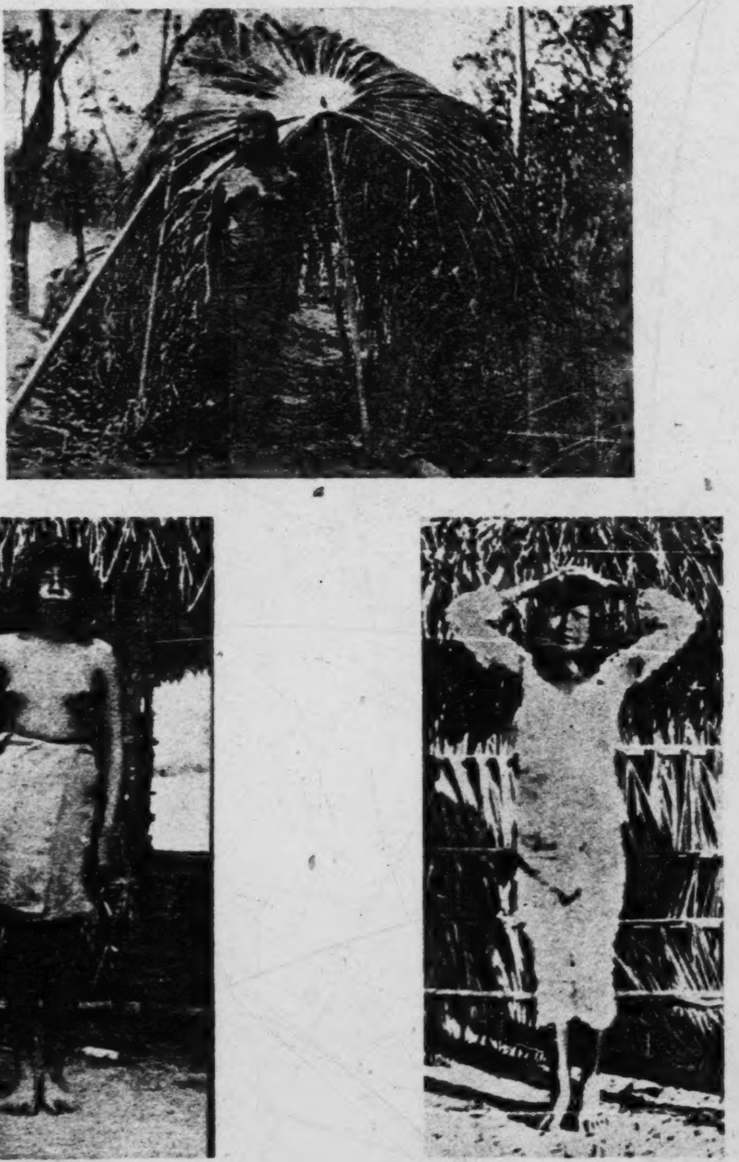
080

PLATE 7

[illegible] round hut. *b*. Kentapí in mourning. *c*. Kentapí, with falcon-down decoration.

342

765
237
302



a

b

c

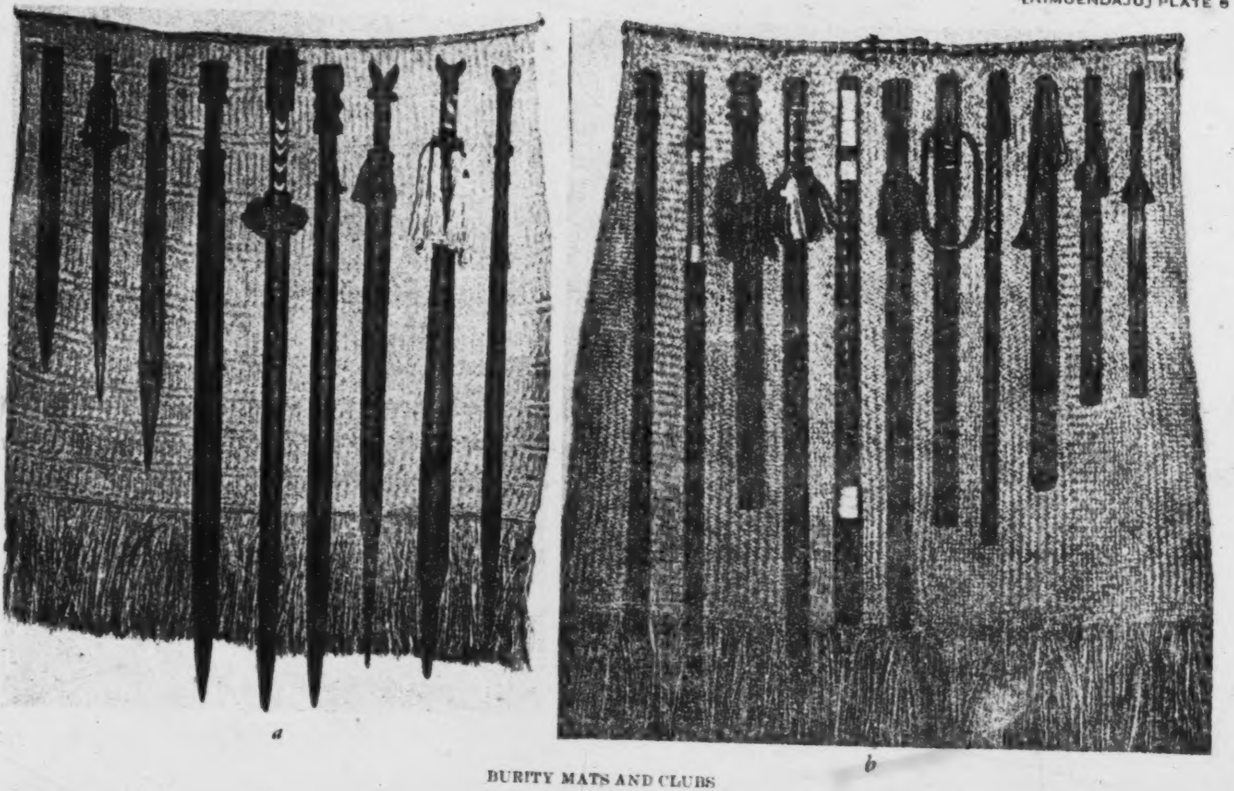
ROUND HUT ; GIRL MOURNER ; SAME WITH FALCON-DOWN DRESS

PLATE 8

000 a. Burity mat; flat clubs. b. Burity mat; round- and square-edged clubs.
Ca. $1/12$ nat. size.

293 285 322

[279]

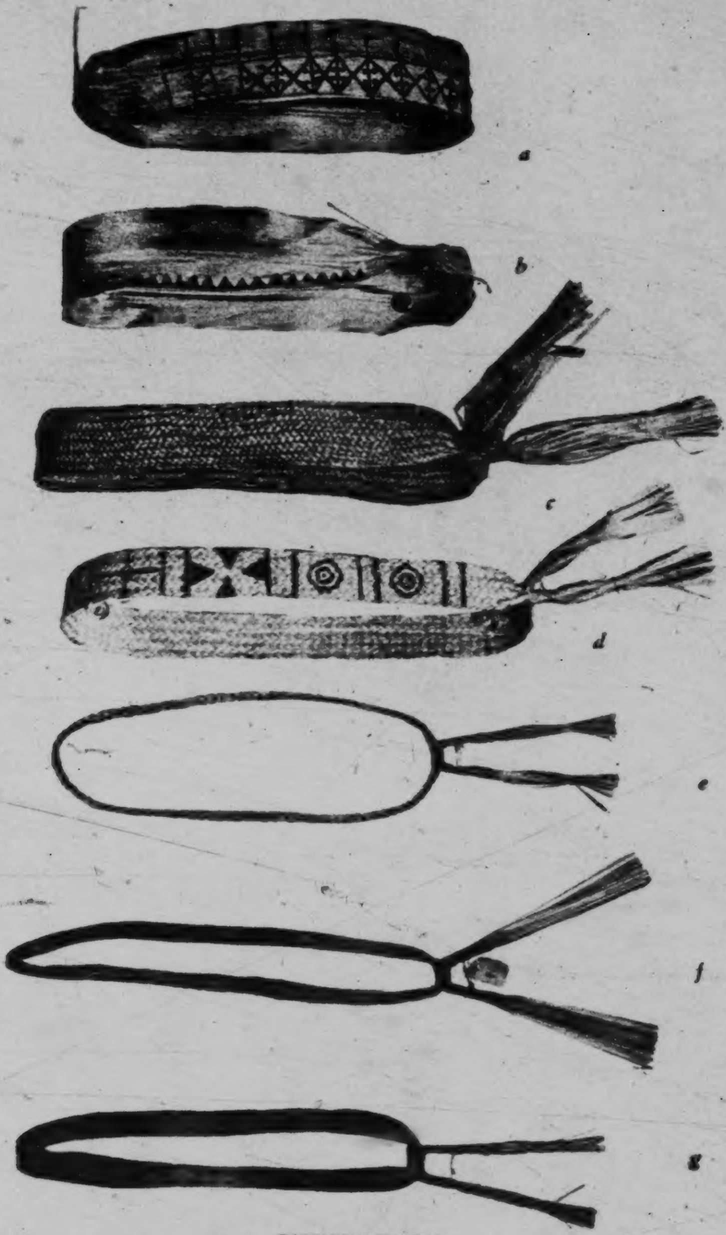


BURITY MATS AND CLUBS

PLATE 9

a–g. Forehead bands. Ca. 3/10 nat. size.

292
286
531

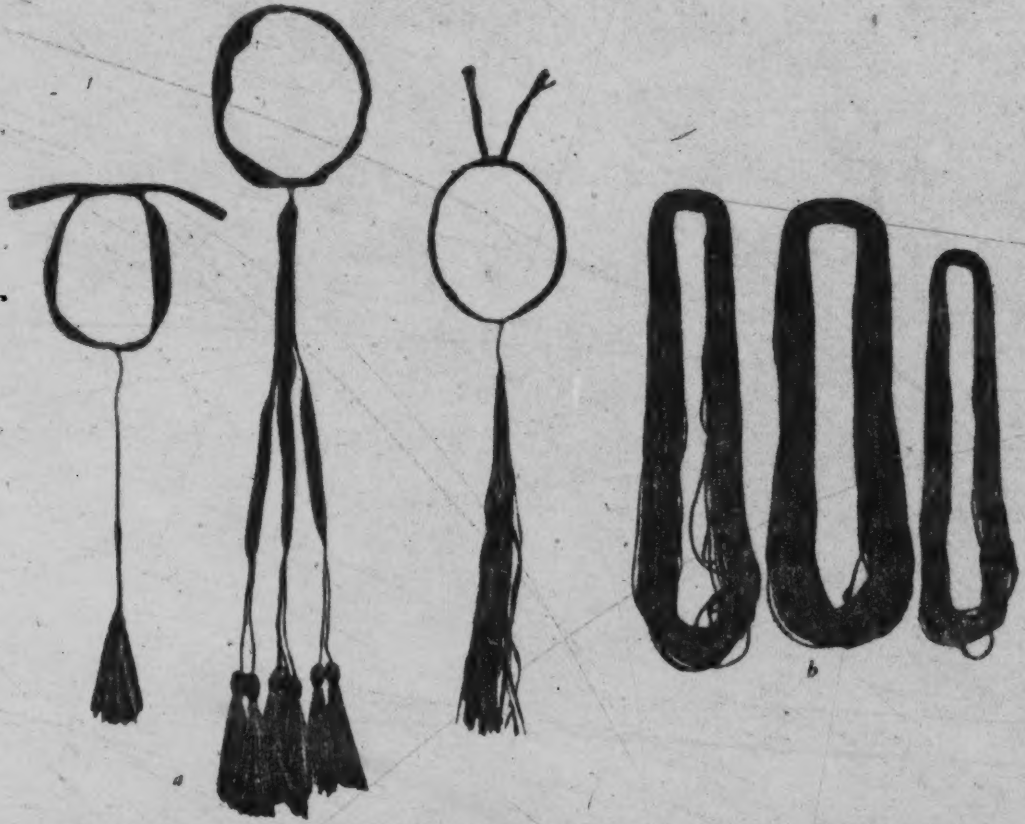


FOREHEAD BANDS

PLATE 10

a. Forehead bands. *b*. Girl's cord girdle. *a*. ca. 1/12 nat. size; *b*, ca. 1/4 nat. size

[283]

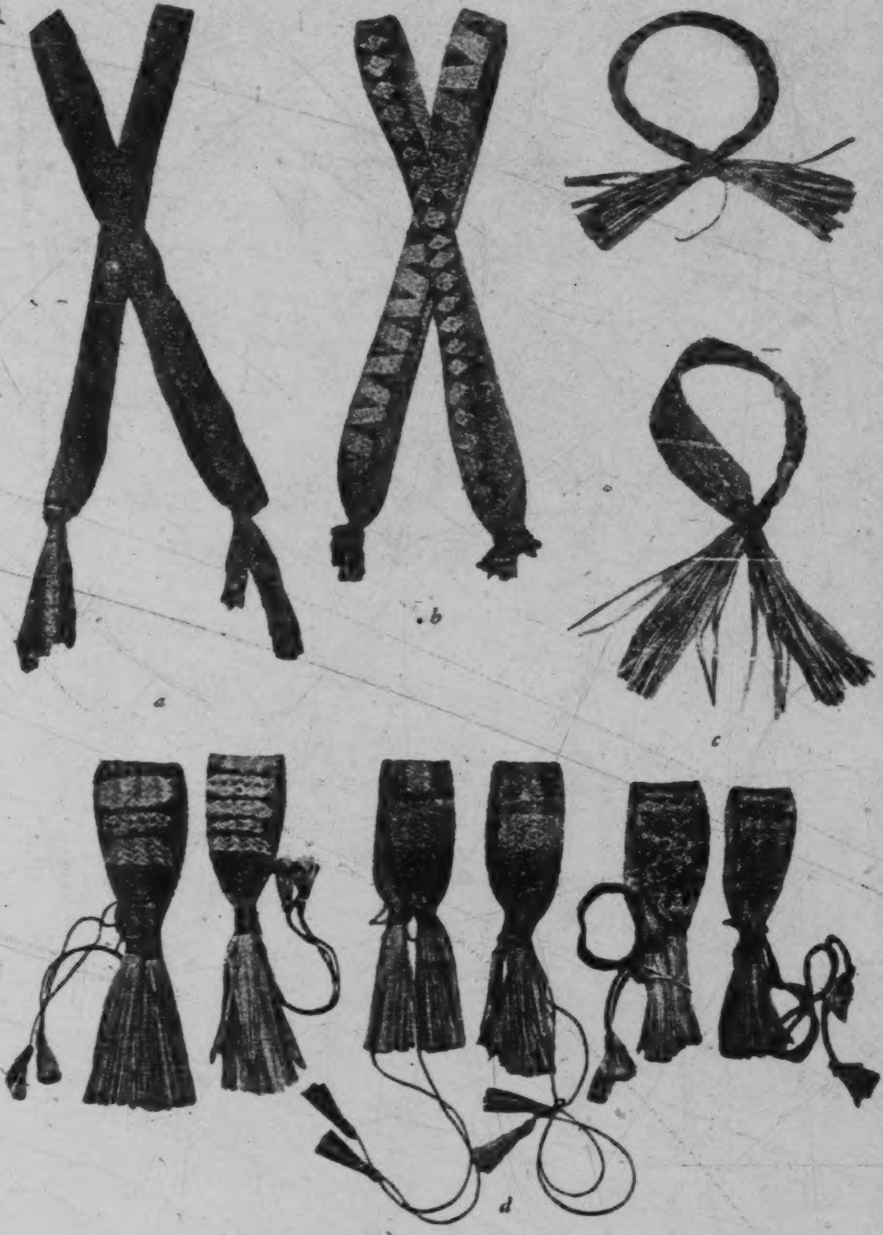


FOREHEAD BANDS; CORD GIRDLE

PLATE 11

a, *b*. Sashes. *c*, *d*. Wristlets. *a*, *b*. ca. $\frac{1}{5}$ nat. size; *c*. ca. $\frac{2}{5}$ nat. size; *d*. ca. $\frac{3}{10}$ nat. size.

292
531

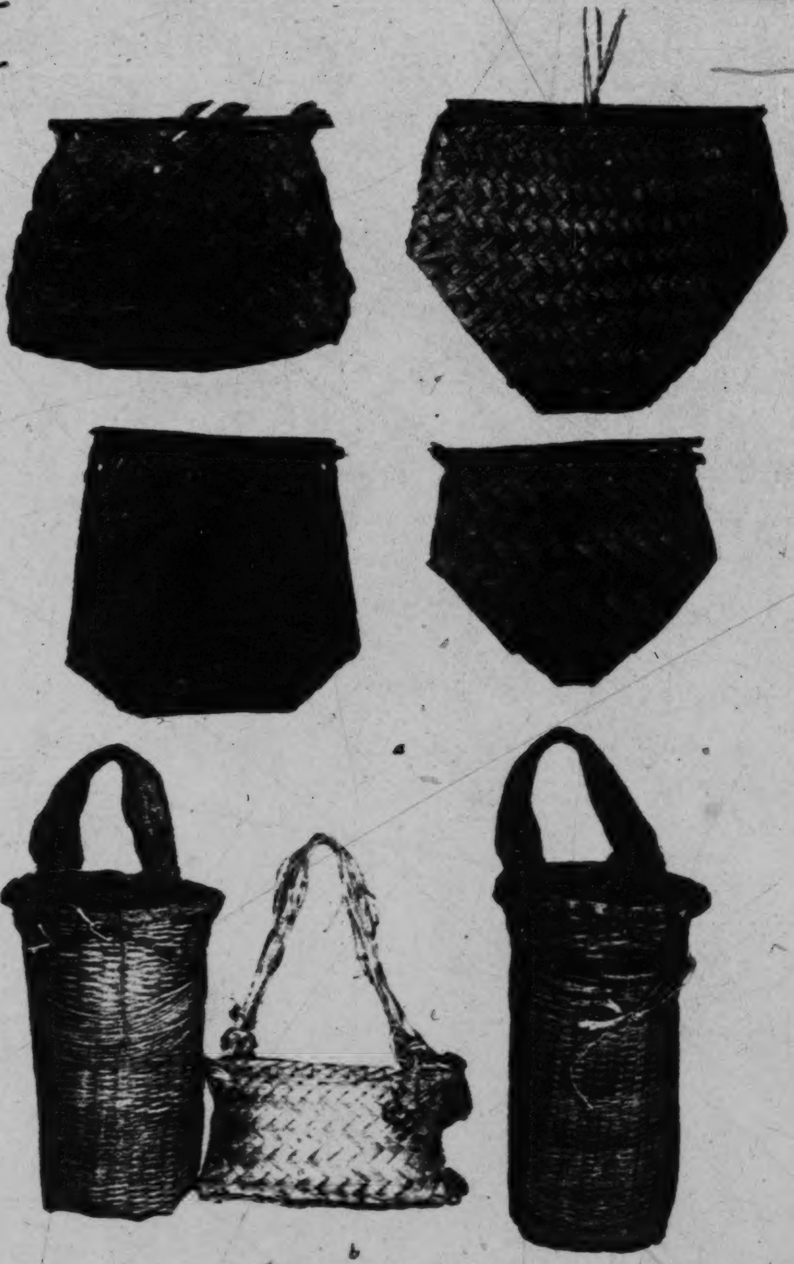


SASHES; WRISTLETS

PLATE 12

a. Fire fans. *b*. Baskets and basketry pouch. *a*, ca. 1/6 nat. size; *b*, ca. 1/11 nat. size.

285
372



FIRE FANS AND BASKETRY

PLATE 13

a. Earplugs. *b*. Girls' wooden wristlets. *a*, ca. ⅕ nat. size; *b*, ca. ⅓ nat. size.

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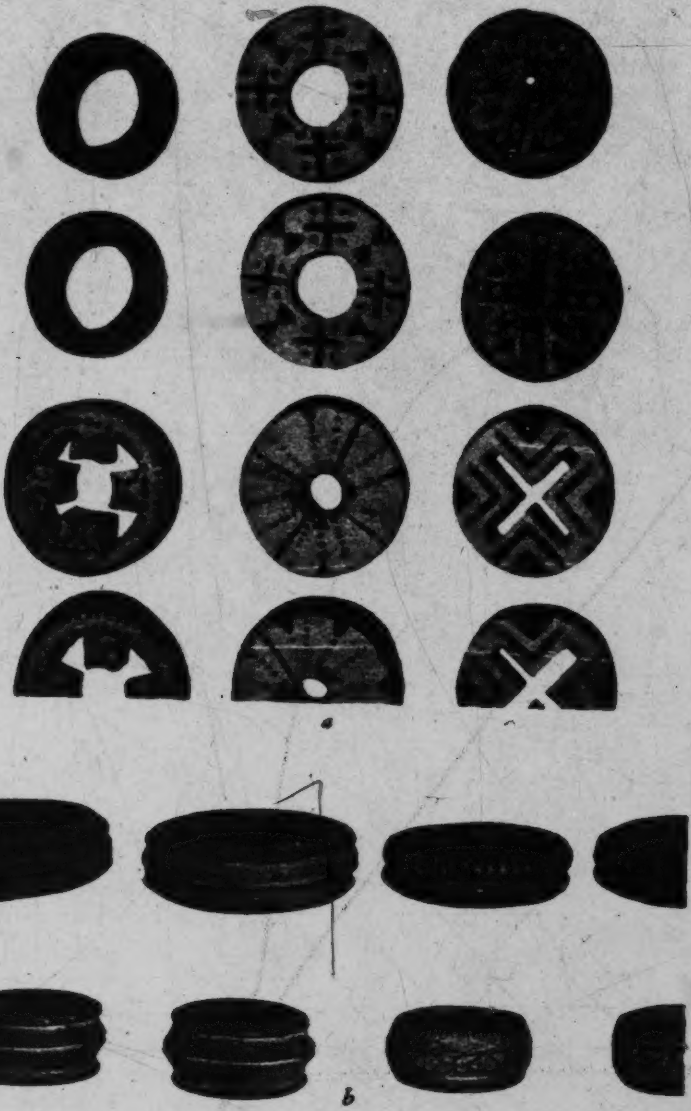

EARPLUGS; WRISTLETS

PLATE 14

Painting outfit.

a, b. Burity leafstalk stamp for lines. *c, d*. Stamp for dots. *e*. Roulette. *f–h*. Stamps for dots. *i*. Four-sided stamp. *j*. Roulette. *k*. Four-sided stamp with axis. *l*. Star-shaped stamp made of half a babassu nut. *m*. Small gourd vessel with black pigment. *n*. Lozenge-shaped stamp. *a–e*, ca. 5/16 nat. size; *f–h*, ca. 5/18 nat. size; *i–n*, ca. ½ nat. size.

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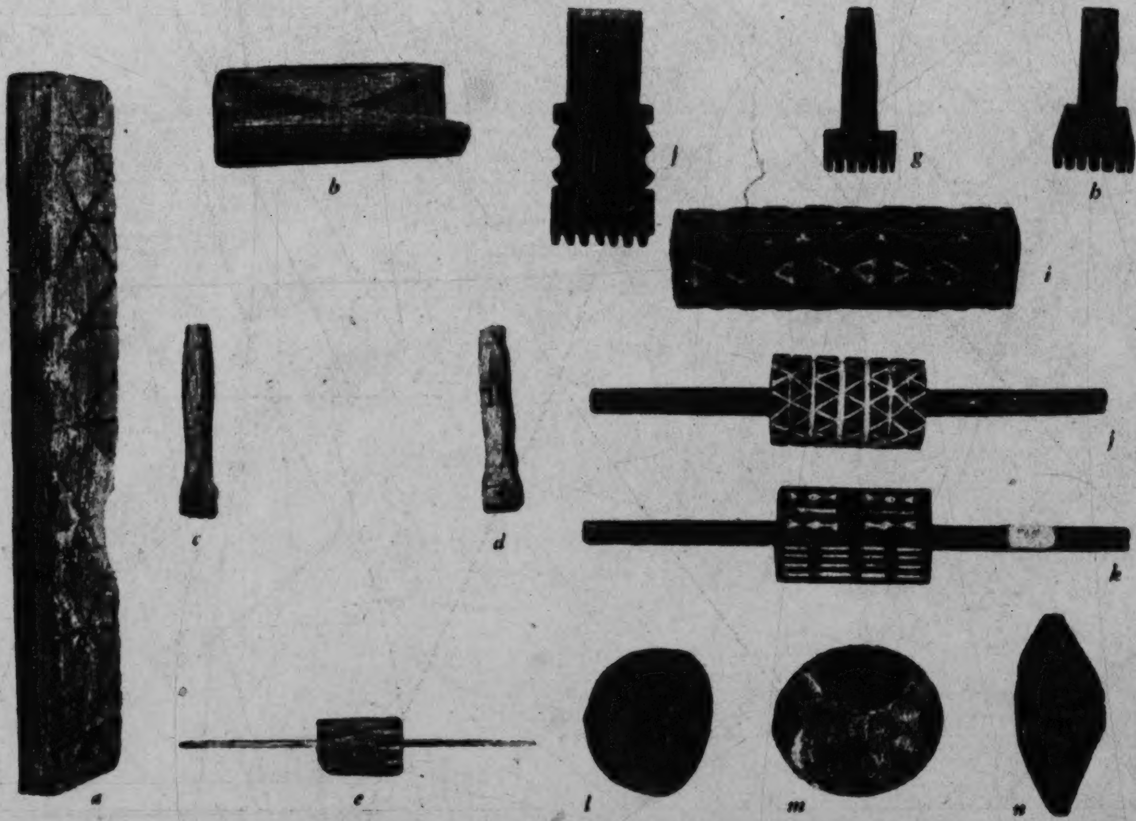
531

[291]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c
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a
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m
n

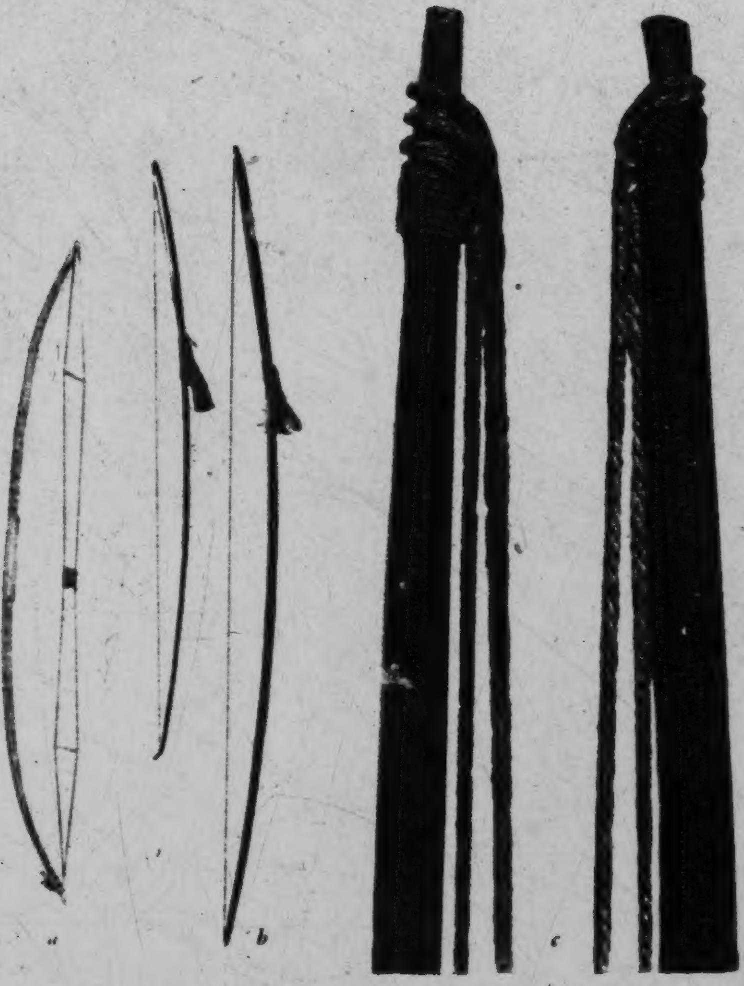
PAINTING OUTFIT

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

PLATE 15

a. Pellet bow. b. Bows of half-grown boy and adult. c. Upper part of bowstave with pad of cording: a, ca. 1/6 nat. size; b, ca. 1/12 nat. size; c, ca. 9/10 nat. size.

411
574
284



BOWS; BOWSTAVE

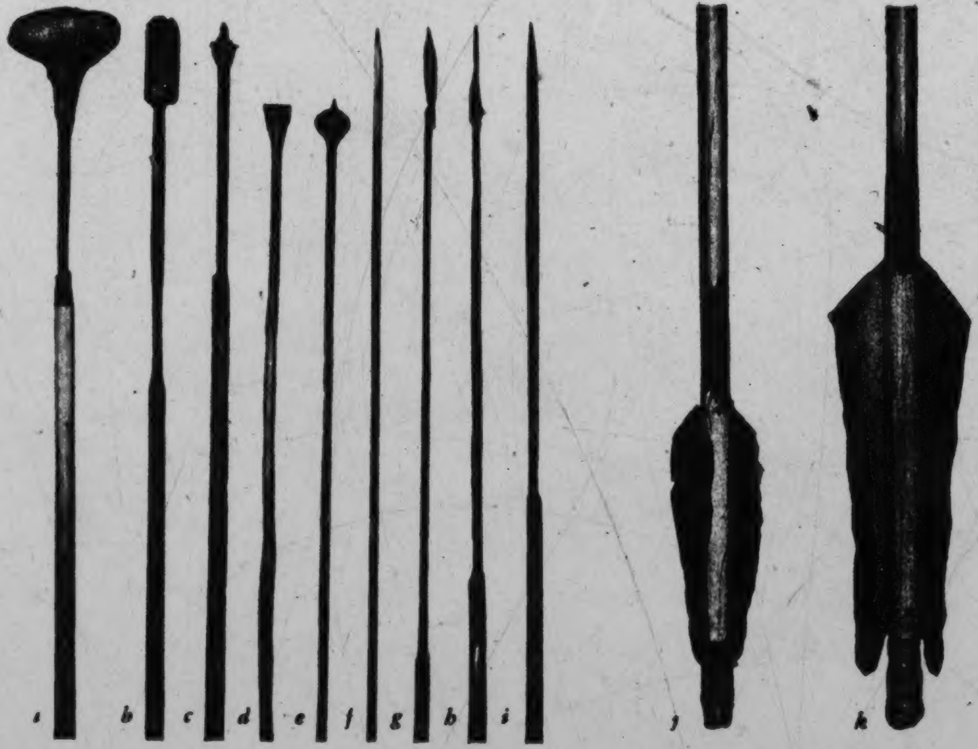
PLATE 16

a. Throwing arrow used at maize harvest ceremony. *b.* Incendiary arrow, shot at lunar eclipse. *c.* Bird arrow with rod cross. *d.* Bird arrow with knobbed head. *e.* Bird arrow with bast ball. *f.* Ordinary hunting arrow. *g.* Bone-pointed hunting arrow. *h.* Fish arrow with iron-wire head. *i.* Fish arrow with plain wooden head. *j.* Tangential bridge feathering. *k.* Ča'kamekra radial sewed feathering. *a–i.* ca. 1/5 nat. size; *j, k,* ca. 2/5 nat. size.

411
a37

Ir Nimuendajú Ir-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

[295]

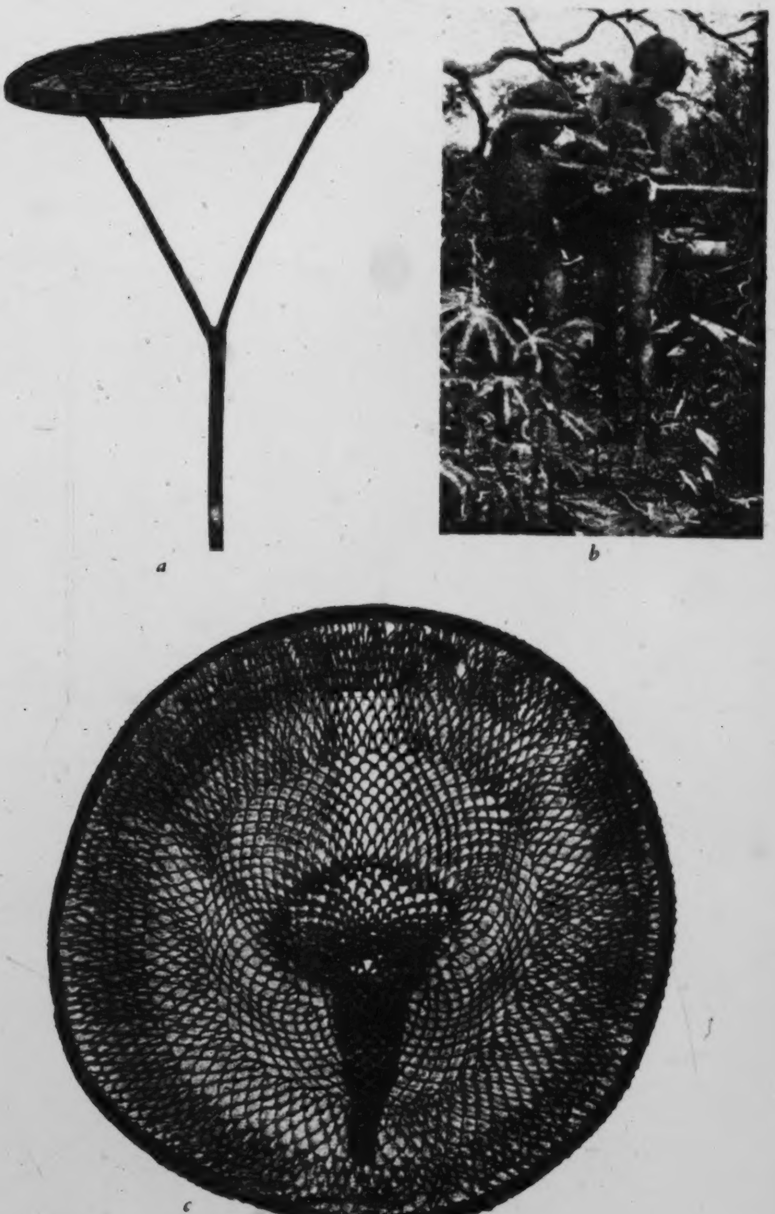


ARROWS AND FEATHERING

000

PLATE 17

a. Snare for dwarf parrots. *b*. Krahô' boys setting snare for dwarf parrots. *c*. Scoop net. *a*, ca. ⅙ nat. size; *c*, ca. ⅕ nat. size.



SNARE FOR DWARF PARROTS; SCOOP NET

PLATE 18

a. Spindles and cotton yarn. The disk on the right consists of a perforated old copper coin.
b. Trough-shaped basketwork, the upper to represent armadillo. Men's work.
a, ca. 3/10 nat. size; *b*, ca. 1/6 nat. size.

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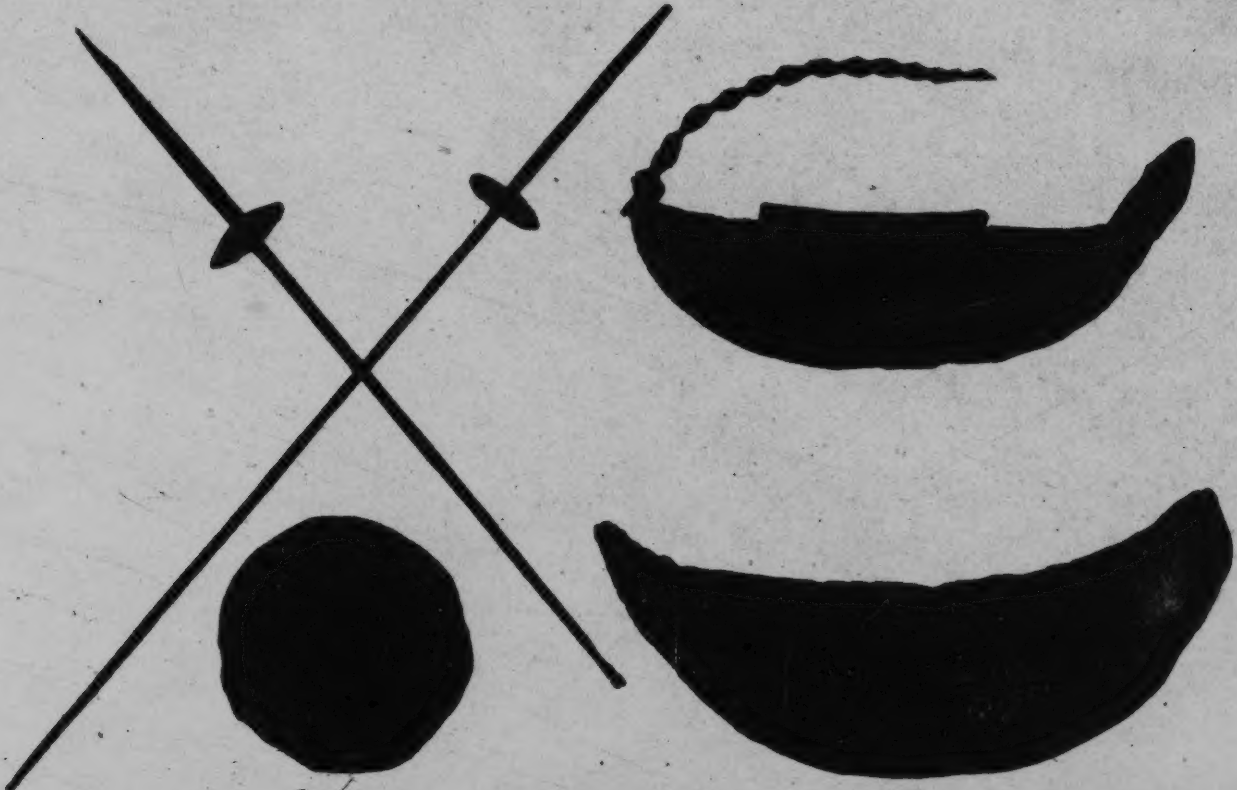
285
286

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

[299]



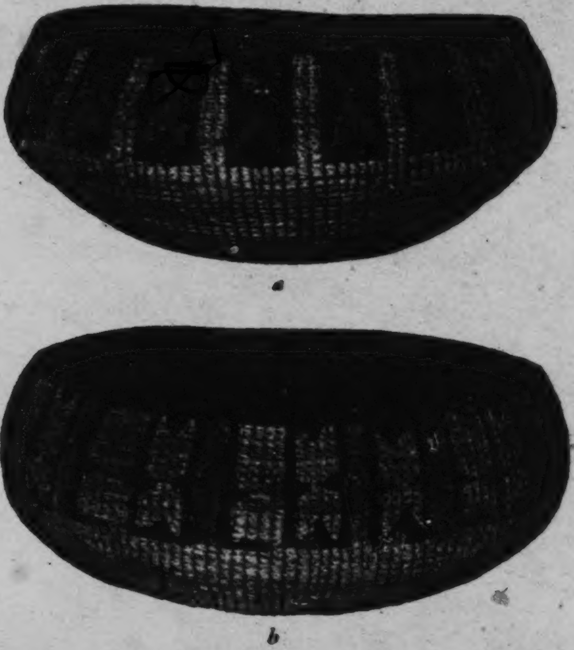
SPINDLES AND YARN; TROUGH BASKETS

050

PLATE 19

a, *b*. Coiled baskets, painted with red and black rosin. Men's work. *c*. Coiled basketry technique. *a*, *b*, ca. 1/10 nat. size; *c*, twice the nat. size.

531
285


a

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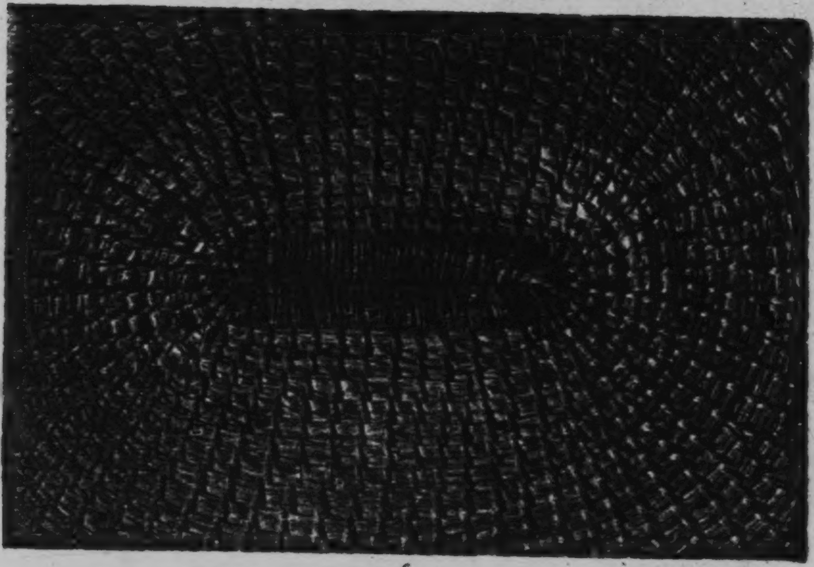
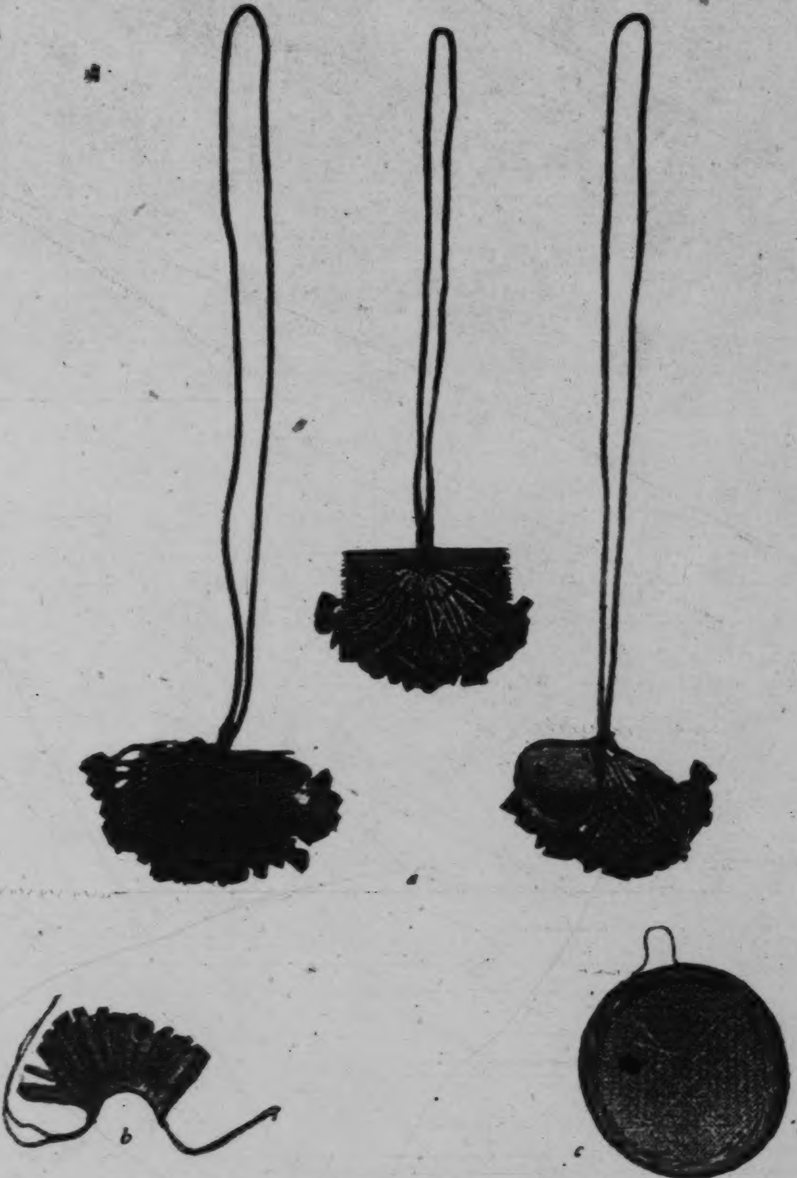

c

COILED BASKETRY

PLATE 20

000 *a*. Rod combs and pigment bowl. *b*. Palm-grass fanlike ornament for occipital tuft. *c*. Strainer. *a*, *b*, ca. $\frac{1}{5}$ nat. size; *c*, ca. $\frac{1}{10}$ nat. size.

303
301



ROD COMBS AND PIGMENT BOWL; HEAD ORNAMENT; STRAINER

580

PLATE 21

Otahukayana scene. Oil painting by Eckhout (1641) in National Museum of Copenhagen.

535
175

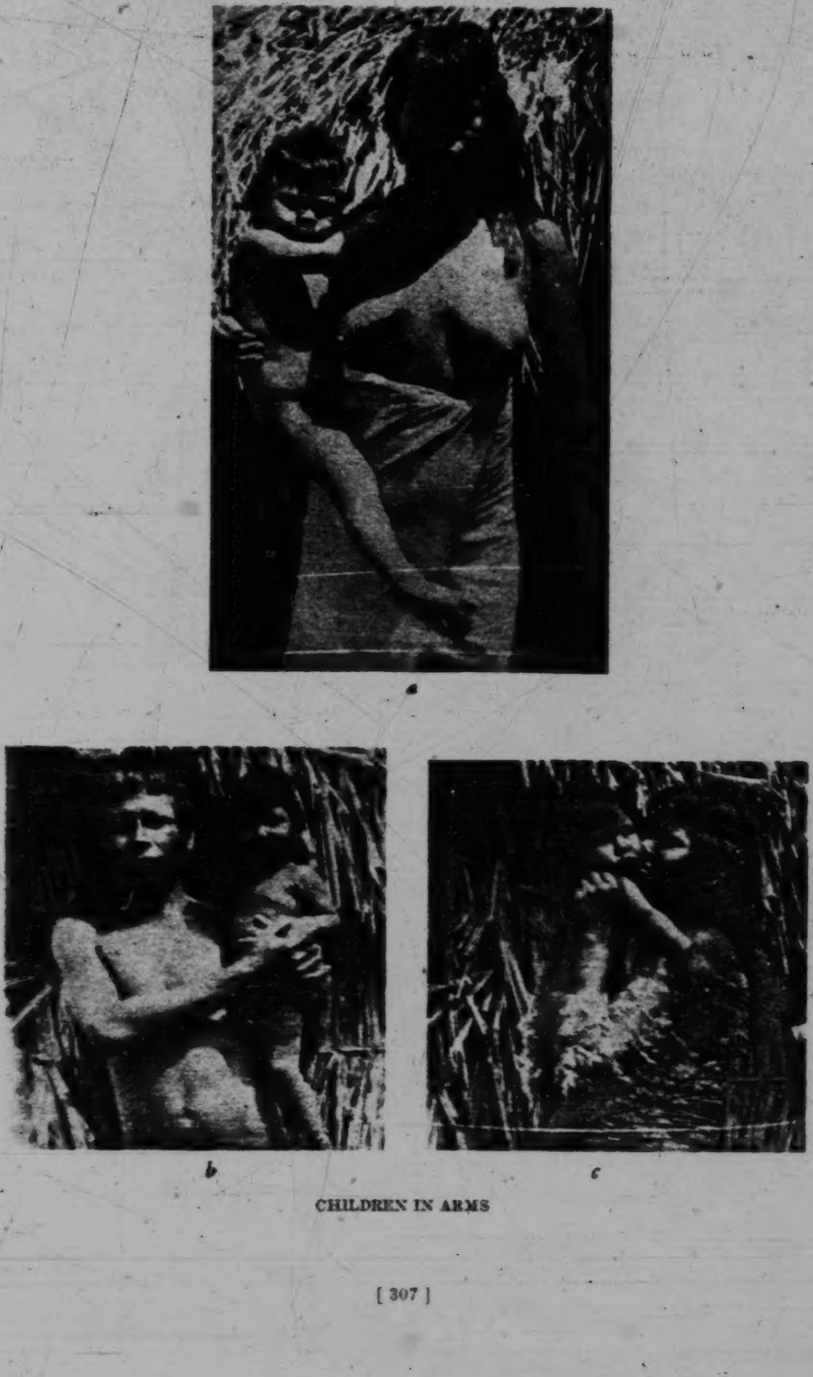
[305]

OTSHUKAYANA DANCE SCENE

PLATE 22

a. Child straddling mother's hip. *b*. Little girl in father's arms. *c*. Same girl in paternal aunt's arms.

854

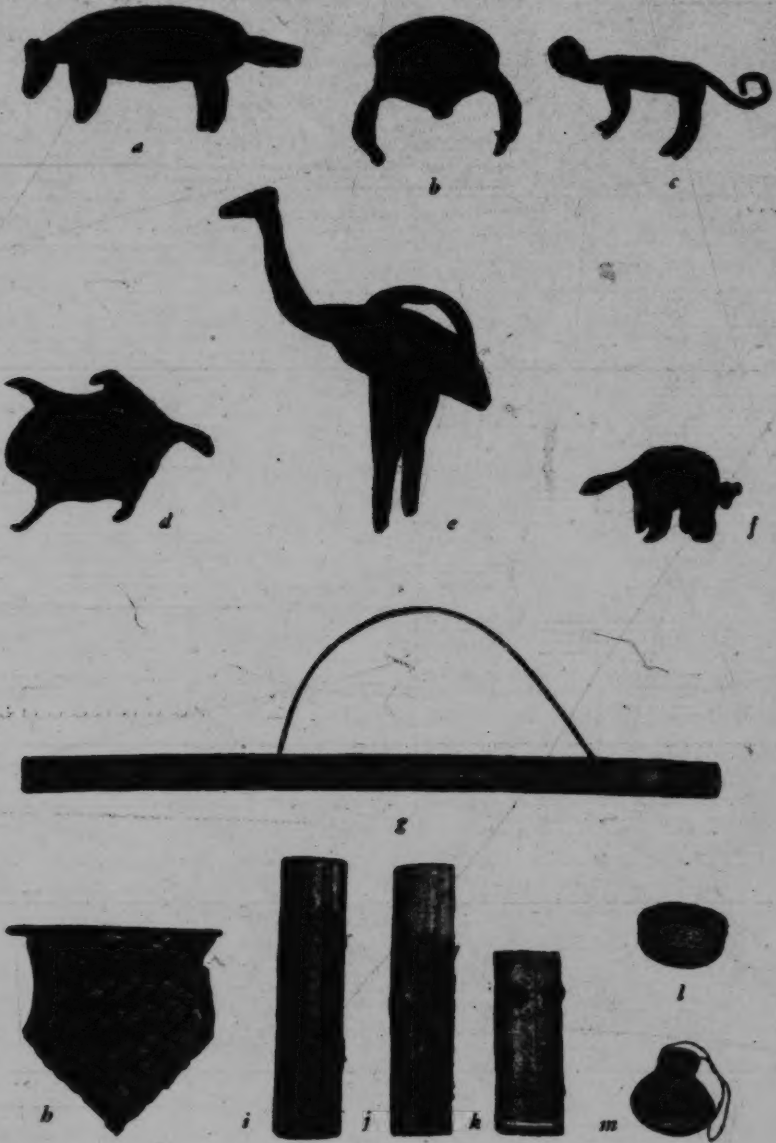


CHILDREN IN ARMS

PLATE 23

Wax figures (*a–f*) and toys (*g–m*). *a*. Armadillo. *b*. Crab. *c*. Monkey. *d*. River turtle. *e*. Ostrich. *f*. Land turtle. *g*. Shooter. *h*. Fire fan. *i*, *k*. Female dolls. *j*. Male doll with down decoration. *l*, *m*. Miniature coiled baskets. *a–f*, ca. ½ nat size; *g–m*, ca. ⅗ nat size.

532
524


a
b
c
d
e
f
g
h
i
j
k
l
m

WAX FIGURES AND TOYS

PLATE 24

Toys. *a*. Bows of smallest boys. *b*. Arrows for them. *c*. Thread cross. *d*. Food pouch. *e*. Sleeping mat. *f*. Carrying basket. *g*. Masquerade costume. *h*. Manioc strainer. *i*. Humming top. *j*. Ball. *k*. Water bottle. *l*. Guajajára hammock. *m*. Game of patience. *n*. Buzzer. *o*. Puzzle carving. *a–g*, ca. ⅙ nat. size; *h–o*, ca. ⅓ nat. size.

265
213
523

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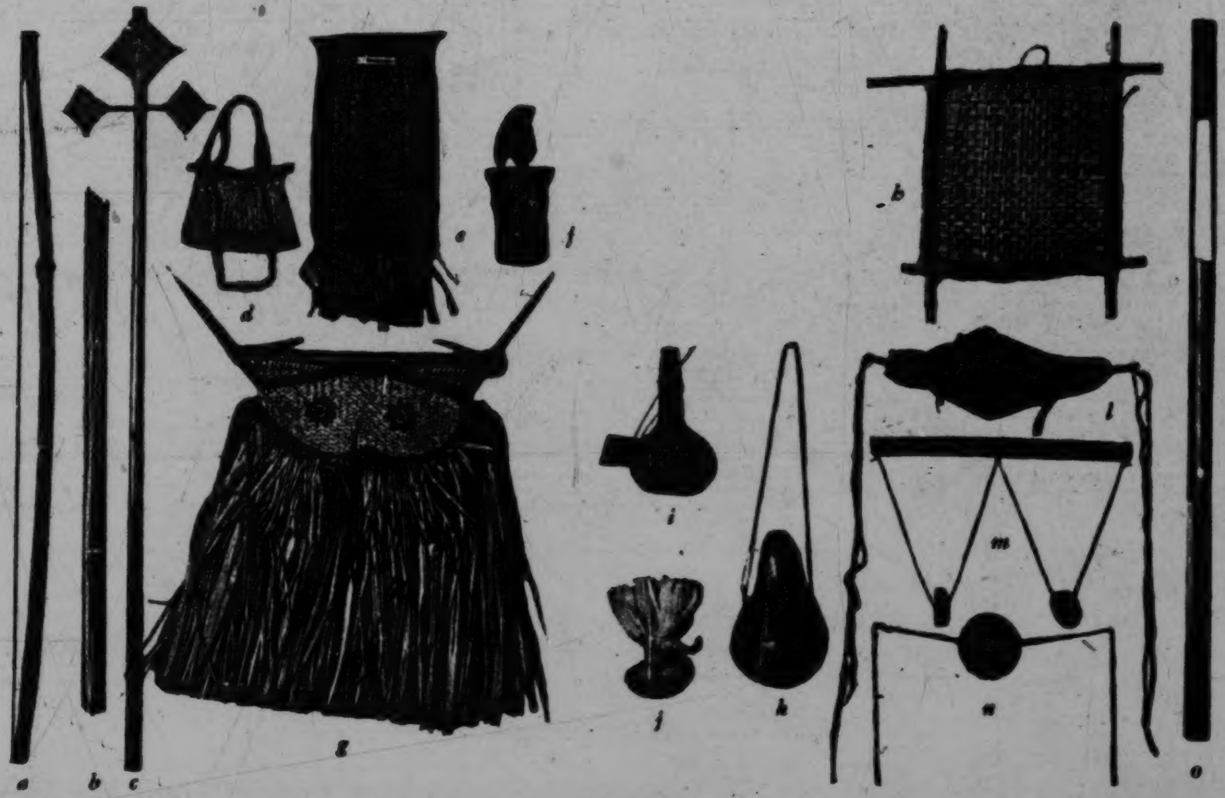
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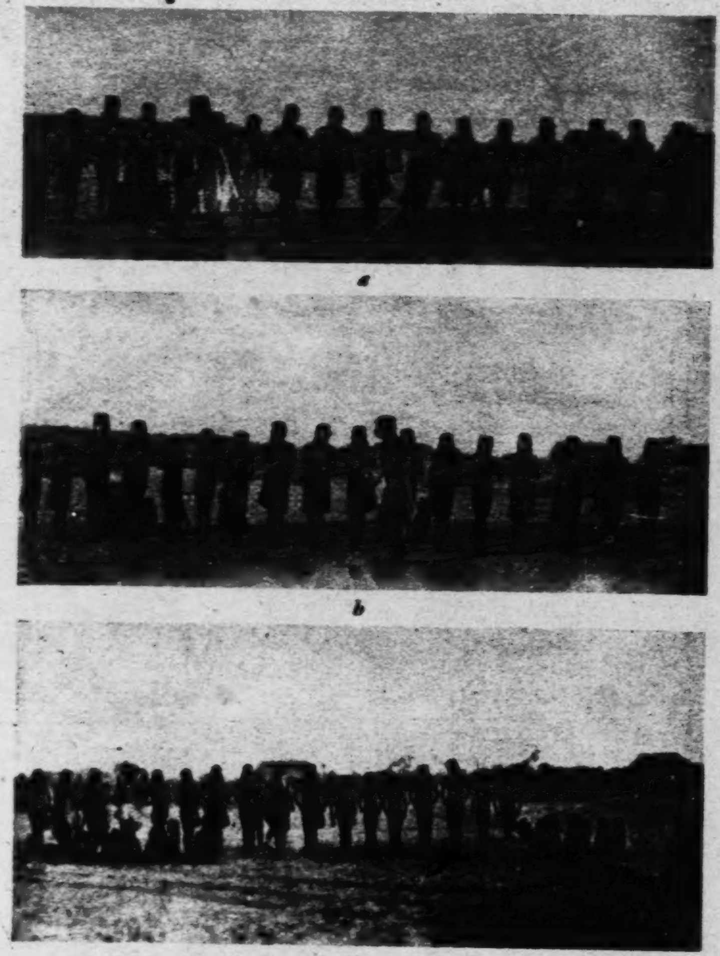
TOYS

1s Nimuendajú 1-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

PLATE 25

a–c. Precentor and dancing girls.



PRECENTOR AND DANCING GIRLS

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PLATE 26

a. Cemetery. b. Grave.

361
764

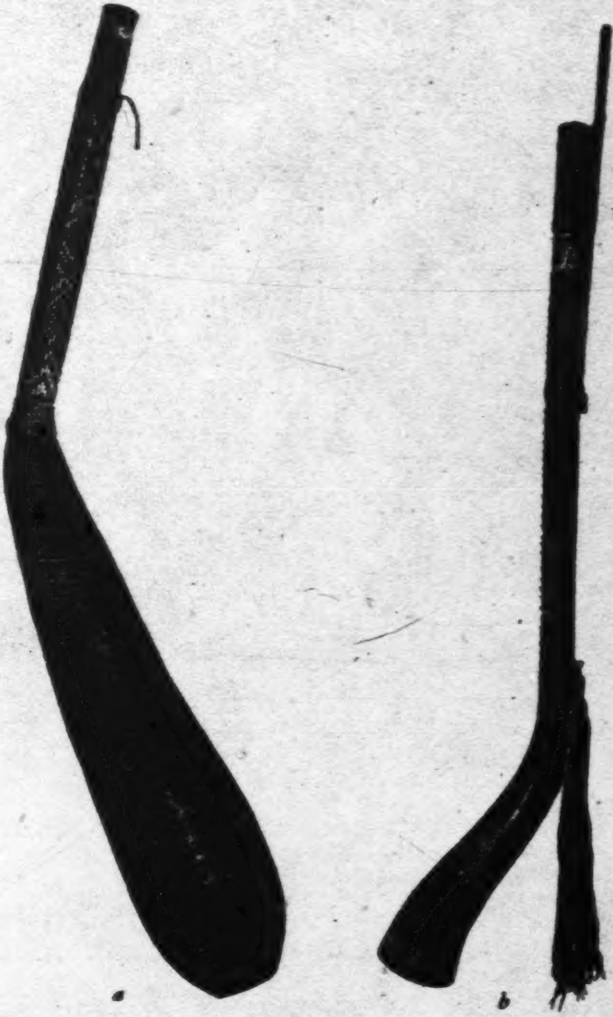
a

b

CEMETERY; GRAVE

PLATE 27

a. Trumpet with gourd resonator. *b*. Trumpet with cow horn. *a*, ca. ¼ nat. size; *b*, ca. ⅛ nat. size.



TRUMPETS

PLATE 28

a. Haką' with decoration awarded to him. *b.* Repíya on left, fourteen years old in 1933, when she was married as a virgin. *c.* Repíya in 1936 as childless young wife.

MAN WITH DECORATION; GIRL AS VIRGIN AND, LATER, CHILDLESS WIFE

PLATE 29

a. Painting of hąmkrán logs for log race at opening of ceremonial period.
b. Log race: turning into boulevard.

527

a

b

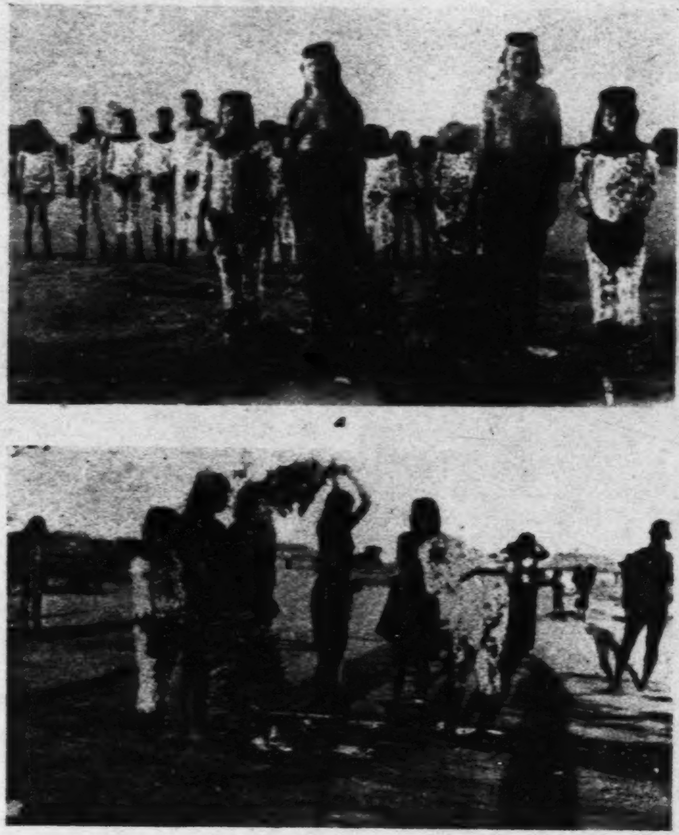
PAINTING HAMKRÂN LOGS; LOG RACE AT POINT OF TURNING INTO BOULEVARD

000

PLATE 30

a. Pąrare race of ketúaye: girl associates and their two predecessors awaiting the racers in the plaza; behind them are the nonracing ketúaye. *b.* Lashing of pąrare racers as they arrive.

796
527
881



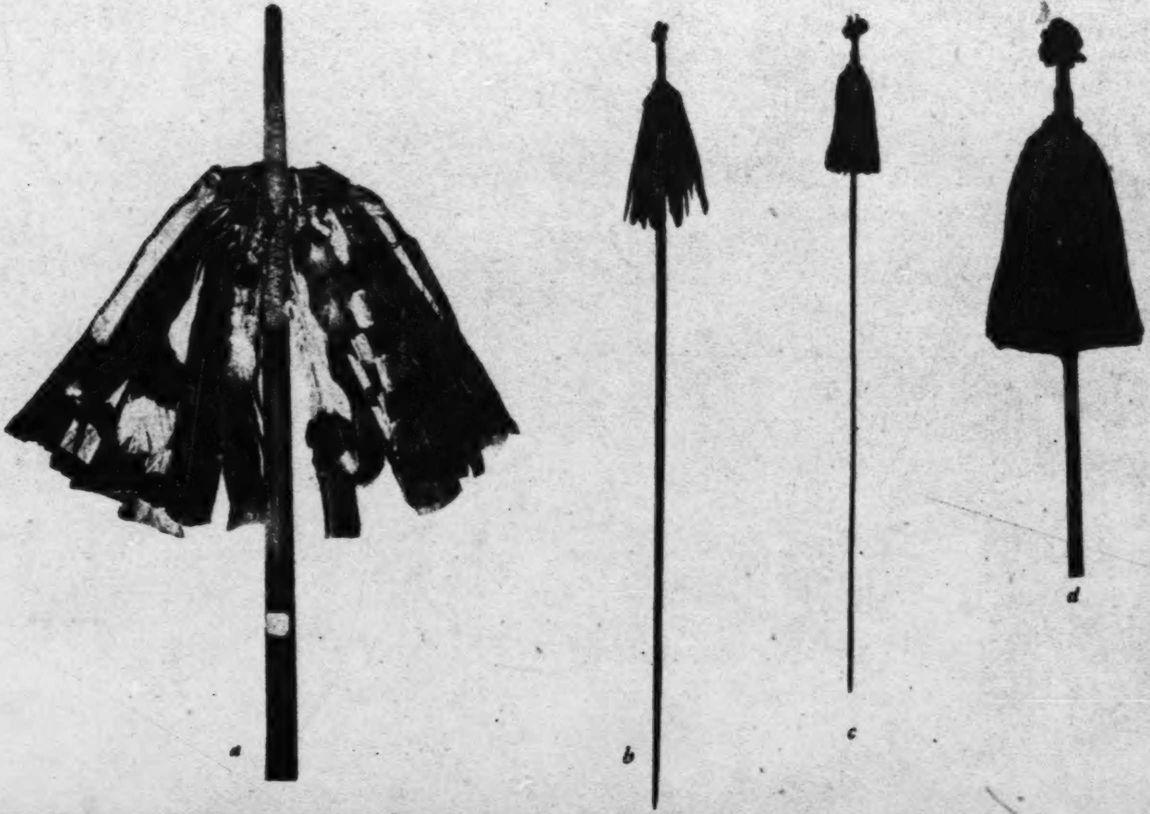
a

b

PĄ̀RARE RACE OF KETÚAYE

PLATE 31

a. Upper end of ceremonial lance. *b*. Ceremonial lance. *c*, *d*. Ceremonial lances of pepyé. *a*, ca. 1/16 nat. size; *b*, ca. 1/4 nat. size; *c*, ca. 1/2 nat. size; *d*, ca. 1/8 nat. size.


a
b
c
d

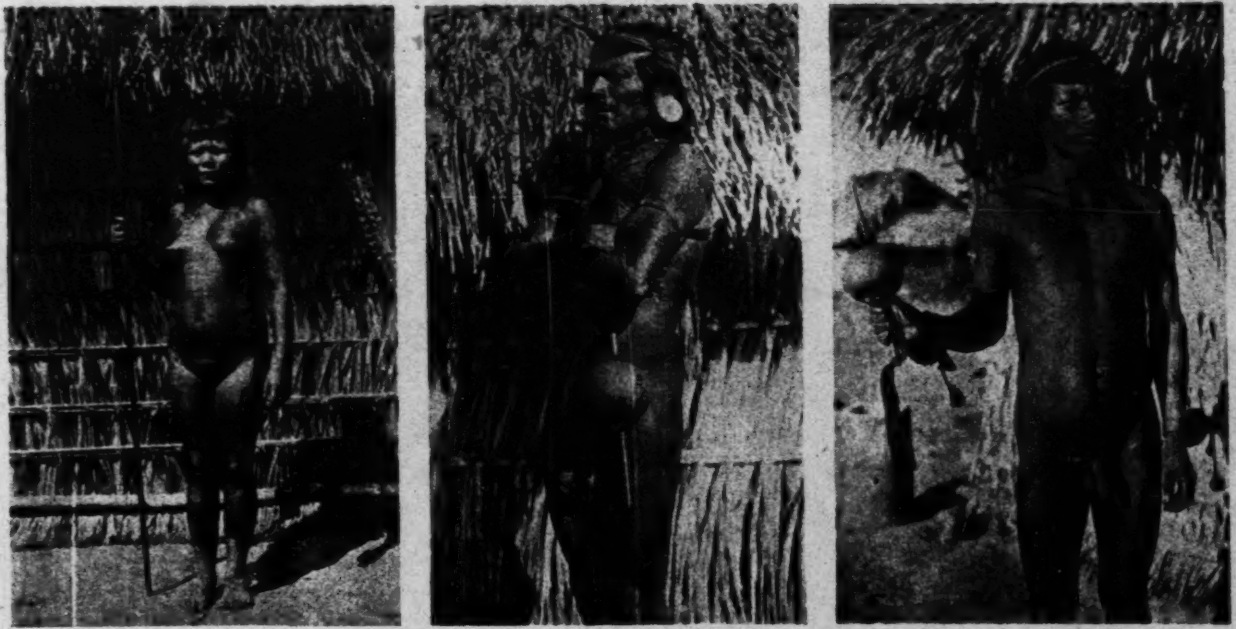
652

PLATE 32

a. Girl associate of eastern moiety. *b*, *c*. Precentor with dance rattle.

535
142

(327)



GIRL ASSOCIATE; PRECENTOR WITH DANCE RATTLE

000

PLATE 33

a. First commandant of pepyé. *b.* Deputy commandant of pepyé. *c.* Western class leader of pepyé. *d.* Eastern class leader of pepyé. Note plaza group designs on each.

861
527
302

[329]

FIRST COMMANDANT; DEPUTY COMMANDANT; WESTERN AND EASTERN CLASS LEADERS

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

003

PLATE 34

a–b. Huts of seclusion of pepyé inside maternal house. c. Yard.

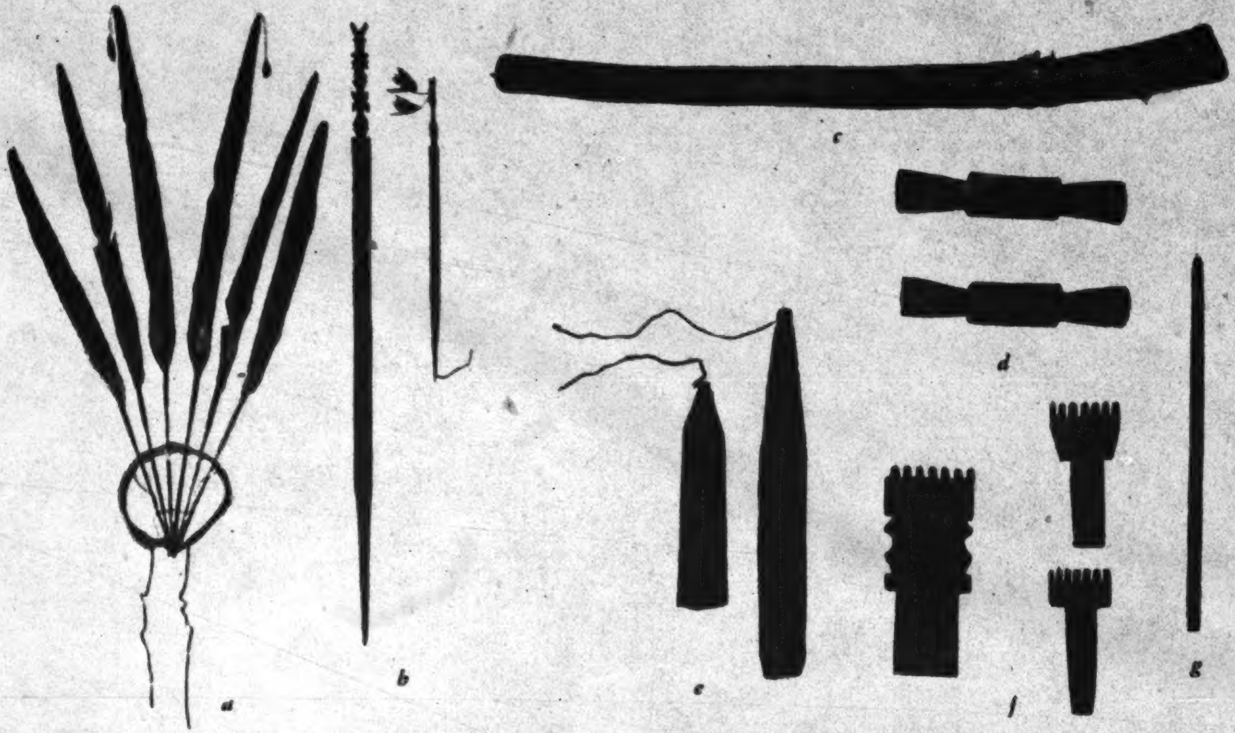
HUTS OF SECLUSION OF PEPYÉ

PLATE 35

a. Occipital ornament worn by class leaders at the two phases of initiation. *b*. Scratching sticks. *c*. Ceremonial club. *d*. Miniature pąrare logs. *e*. Bull-roarers. *f*. Stamp for dots. *g*. Tally stick. *a*, *c*, *d*, *g*, ca. 1/10 nat. size.

303
301
534
211
293

[333]



OCCIPITAL ORNAMENT; SCRATCHING STICKS; CEREMONIAL CLUB; MINIATURE PĄRARE LOGS; BULL-ROARERS;
STAMP FOR DOTS; TALLY STICK

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

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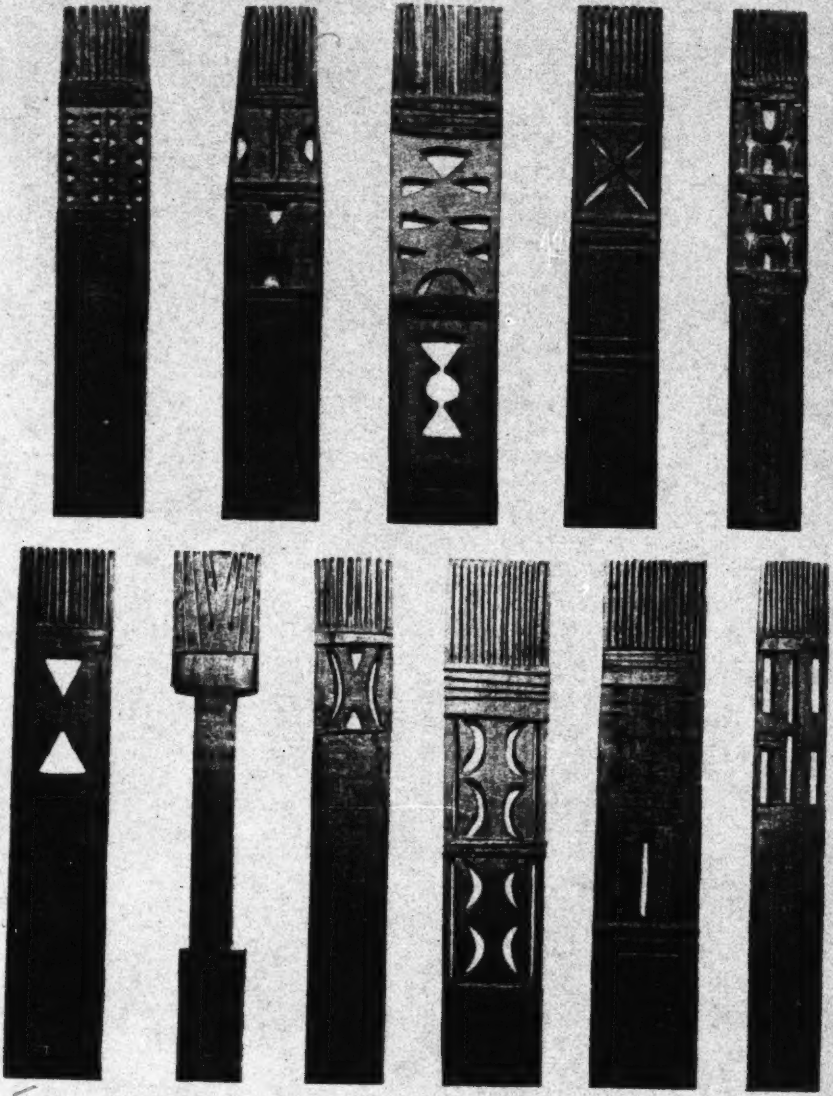
PLATE 36

Carved club handles of pepyé. Ca. $\frac{3}{10}$ nat. size.



CARVED CLUB HANDLES OF PEPYÉ

080

PLATE 37

a. Measuring costume owner for length of fringe. b. Painting of masks with finger tips. c. Old associates of Mummers' society: one of them is holding spit for spitting food begged.

MEASURING COSTUME OWNER; PAINTING OF MASKS; GIRL ASSOCIATES OF MUMMERS' SOCIETY

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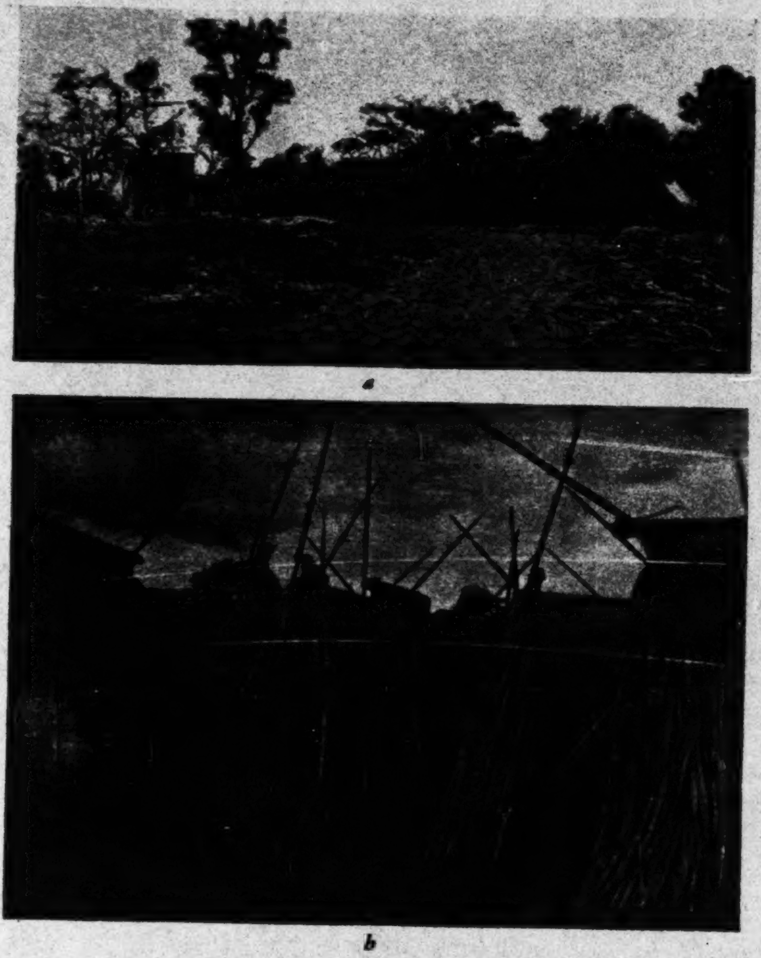
PLATE 38

a. Mummers' shed for masquerade preparations. *b.* Dance of Mummers around girl associates.

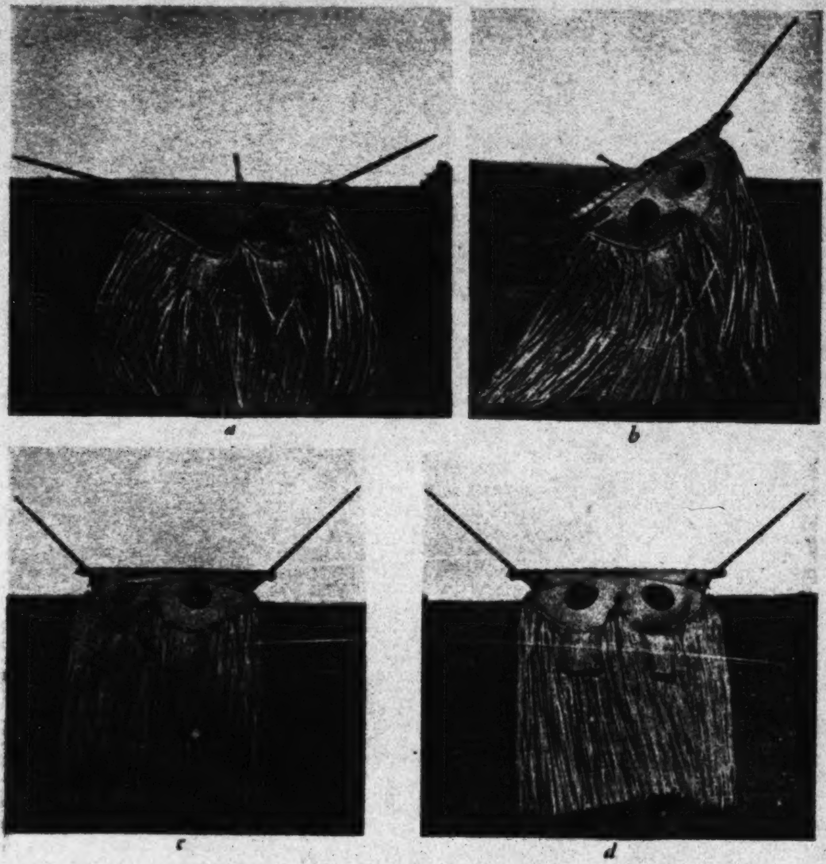
343
535
575



MUMMERS' SHED; MUMMERS' DANCE AROUND ASSOCIATES

PLATE 39

Gesture language of Tõkaivéu masquerader. *a.* Being ashamed. *b.* Anger. *c.* Calling a spectator t approach. *d.* Begging.

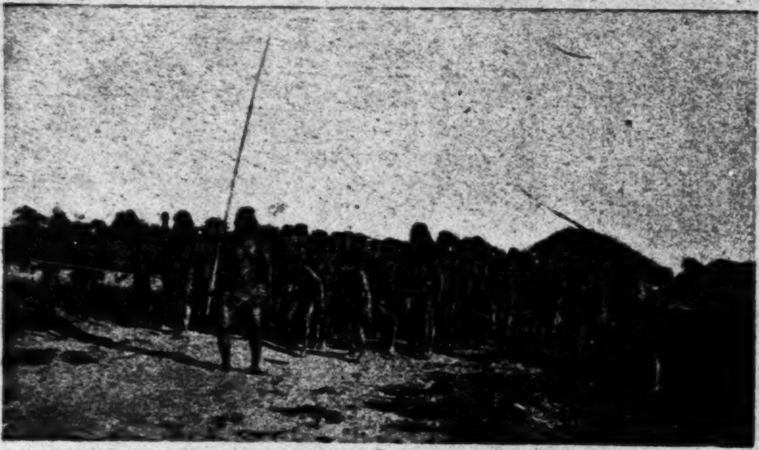


GESTURE LANGUAGE OF TŌKAIVÉU MASQUERADER

PLATE 40

a. Mothers-in-law leading sons-in-law. *b*. Clowns, masked at pepkahą'k.

861
527



a

575
527

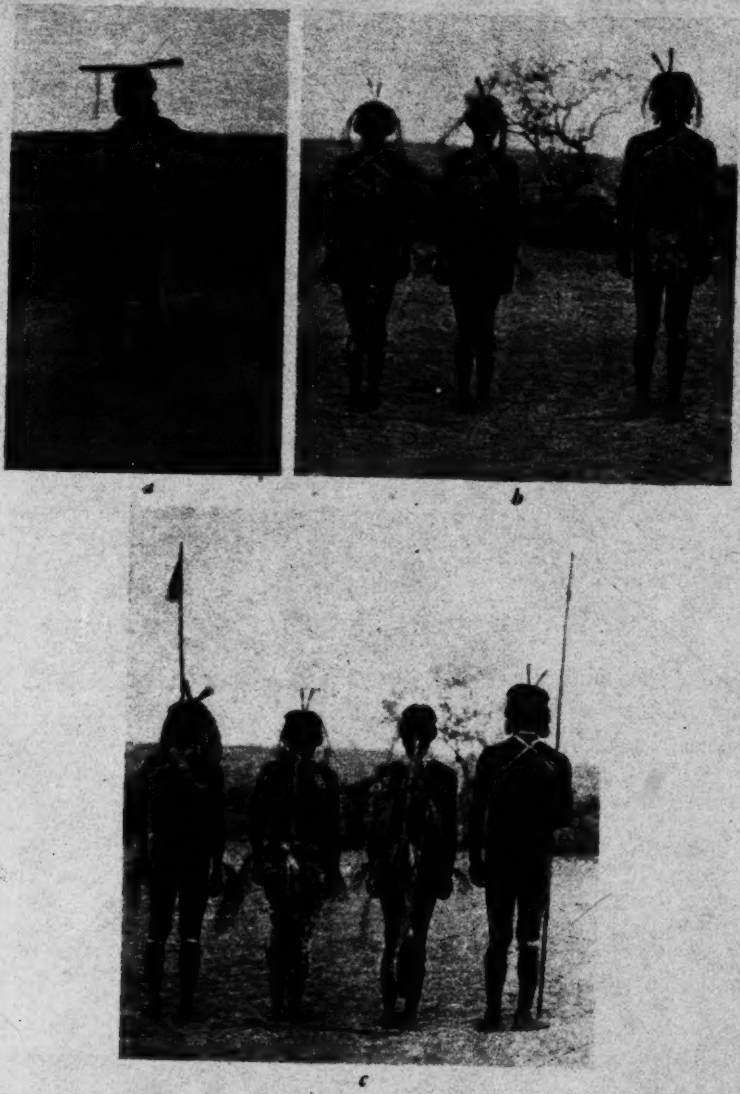
b

MOTHERS-IN-LAW LEADING SONS-IN-LAW; CLOWNS, MASKED AT PEPKAHĄ'K

PLATE 41

a. Tepyarkwá messenger of Fish societies. *b*. Tepyarkwá girl associates of Clowns. *c*. Rear view of costumes.

575
302
292



TEPYARKWÁ MESSENGER OF FISH SOCIETIES; TEPYARKWÁ GIRL ASSOCIATES OF CLOWNS; REAR VIEW OF COSTUMES

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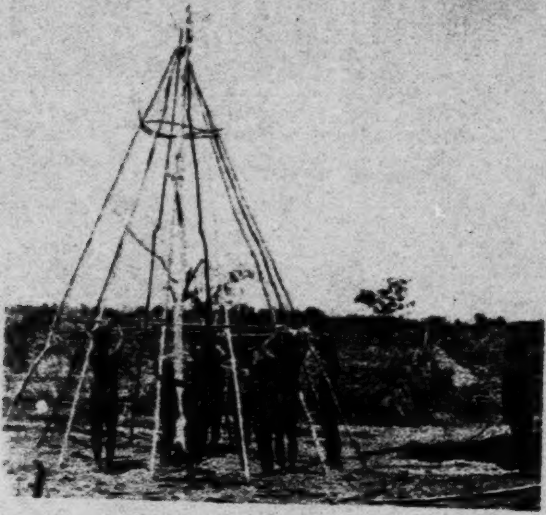
PLATE 42

a, b. Tepyarkwá festive hut of Fish Otters.

345
575



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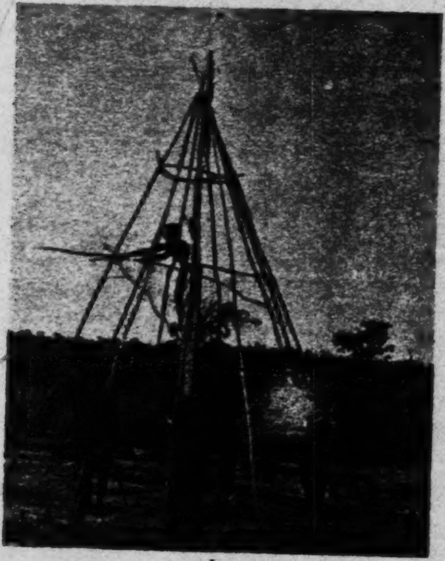

b

TEPYARKWÁ FESTIVE HUT OF FISH OTTERS

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[349]

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/For detailed payments and exchanges of food, small labor services and miscellaneous chores related to the performance of the major festivals, see category 116, pp. 163-230./

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/There are six components of two moieties which the author refers to as "plaza groups". The moieties are classified under category 616, but the individually functioning components are not separately categorized. If one accepts Nimuendaju's (p. 90) reconstruction of their original function, they represent former localized sibs. Nimuendaju does not identify the plaza groups of the Tepyarkwa festival (pp. 225-230) with those that perform during the initiation ceremonies (pp. 87-90)./

619, 101, 631, SO8 Timbira SO8

/The 619 category has been used to include all material on distinct Timbira tribes other than the Ramokamekra which is the principal source for most of the author's observations./

575, 791 Timbira SO8

/The King Vultures Society, a man's society based upon nomination from without the Ramokamekra tribe as "courtesy chief" is listed under category 794, since the functions of the group are magical but they do not constitute an organized priesthood. When acting as individuals, they are categorized as 791./

/Since the author regards almost all organized ceremonial as secular, ceremonies are to be found under category 527. For ceremonies in general see category 116, pp. 163-230./

602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608 Timbira SO8

/For specific instances of kin group behavior during ceremonies, see category 116, pp. 163-230./